FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BULGARIA SUPPORTS LATEST PACT MBFR PROPOSAL

AU151427 Sofia BTA in English 2015 GMT 14 Mar 85

[Text] Vienna, March 14 (BTA) -- Mr Enyo Savov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in central Europe, addressed the negotiations 392nd plenary session today. He emphasised that the seeking of a mutually acceptable agreement is pivotal to the stands of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. This is evidenced by the draft provisions of an agreement, introduced on February 14 this year by the socialist countries -- direct parties to the Vienna talks. The draft envisages that the Soviet Union and the U.S. go ahead with a reduction of their ground forces and armaments in central Europe and subsequently refrain from raising the level of armed forces and armaments in the countries in that area.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation stressed that the realisation of the latest proposal to start with the pullout of 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 U.S. servicemen along with their gear and then to pledge a non-increase of forces and armaments in that area would be a tangible contribution by the parties to the Vienna talks to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and worldwide. The crucial thing is not to miss the chance but to translate it into reality.

GDR CSCE DELEGATE URGES CHEMICAL WEAPONS FREEZE

LD181906 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Stockholm, 18 Mar (ADN) -- Initial steps toward freeing Europe from chemical weapons would be confidence- and security-building measures of the first order in the present situation. This was stressed today by Ambassador Dr Guenter Buehring, head of the GDR delegation to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. The conference should use the opportunity provided by its mandate to halt the escalation of chemical weapons, the GDR representative said.

He criticized NATO's objections to the proposal to free Europe from chemical weopons. He demonstrated that the creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons along the dividing line between the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO would markedly reduce military confrontation. This was also the aim of agreed measures which should be negotiated and adopted in Stockholm.

EDITORIAL VIEWS GORBACHEV ELECTION, PLENUM SPEECH

AU181524 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "For the Cause of the Party, for the Cause of Socialism"; uppercase passages published in wide-spaced type]

[Text] The indestructible strength of the CPSU and the Soviet people are manifested with particular emphasis in recent days.

This past Wednesday the Soviet people, the working people from the socialist countries, and all progressive mankind, as well as government and state leaders from all over the world paid their final respects to the name and cause of Konstantin Chernenko. On that day another brilliant personality -- setting an example for present and future generations -- was laid to rest in Red Square.

The logic of life is irrevocable; experienced revolutionary cadres are leaving us, but development does not stop. The best appreciation for those who are no longer among the living is to continue their work; the best way to show this appreciation is to continue their cause and to creatively develop the main tasks.

The Soviet Communists and the Soviet people, in full support and unanimity, greeted the election of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of general secretary of the CPSU. This decision was accepted with justifiably great interest because he is the leader of one of the most powerful states in the world and because the question now arises: In what direction will the further domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union develop, and what can be expected of the leadership headed by this new man?

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev himself answered this question as early as in his very first speech to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This speech has been the subject of comment throughout the world. What are the basic elements of this speech -- which represents a concentrated platform for the further activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state?

THE BASIC ELEMENT LIES IN THE FACT THAT LENIN'S PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO IMPLEMENT ITS CONSISTENT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. The strategic line aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, at perfecting all aspects of society's life will remain unchanged, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev stated. This is a new confirmation of the creative, constructive character of the entire tremendous work that fills the Soviet people's life with profound meaning. Difficult tasks are facing the Soviet people, of course. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee specified them as follows: We must achieve a decisive change in directing the national economy to the path of intensive development. The Soviet Union must promptly achieve one of the most advanced scientific-technological positions and reach the highest world level in social labor productivity. The programmatic request -- everything for man, everything to the benefit of man -- a request that must be inspired by an ever more intense and specific meaning -- was once again confirmed. Special attention is devoted to the further intensification of socialist democracy and to the enhancement of social consciousness of the Soviet people's labor and social activities, to the consolidation of discipline, to education in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev stressed as follows: "WE ARE OBLIGED IN THE FUTURE ALSO TO WIDELY PROPAGATE THE WORK OF PARTY, SOVIET, STATE, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.... THE BETTER PEOPLE ARE INFORMED, THE GREATER THEIR AWARENESS IN THEIR WORK, THE MORE ACTIVELY THEY WILL SUPPORT THE PARTY, ITS PLANS, PROGRAMS AND GOALS."

From the very beginning of its existence in 1917, the Soviet state has constantly promoted a line of just peace, peaceful coexistence between states belonging to different social systems. This line will remain unchanged, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out. The Soviet Union will always reciprocate goodwill with goodwill and confidence with confidence. The leaders of capitalist states must bear these words in mind and must not miss a chance to make their contribution to detente in the current situation, or to the elimination and full liquidation of any danger of war.

The working people of the socialist system were particularly gratified by Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in connection with the mutual relations between the USSR and its closest allies. Comrade Gorbachev stressed as follows in this respect: "THE FIRST NECESSITY FOR OUR PARTY AND STATE IS TO PRESERVE AND COMPREHENSIVELY CONSOLIDATE THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP WITH OUR CLOSEST FELLOW-WORKERS AND ALLIES -- THE COUNTRIES OF THE GLORIOUS SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. WE ARE DOING AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN OUR POWER TO EXPAND COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST STATES AND TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF INFLUENCE OF SOCIALISM IN WORLD AFFAIRS." In this statement the Bulgarian Communists and the Bulgarian people see powerful support for their creative plans, and a reliable and fraternal guarantee for new victories in consolidating and enhancing the prestige of the worldwide socialist community.

In his first speech Mikhail Gorbachev devoted special attention to Soviet-American relations. Once more the unmistakable Soviet stand on the negotiations, which just opened in Geneva, was clearly set forth. The only sensible way out of the tremendous danger facing mankind is to achieve an agreement on immediately stopping the arms race -- above all, the nuclear race -- on the earth, as well as preventing such a race in outer space. The Soviet Union proposes to freeze the nuclear arsenals and to stop the further deployment of missiles; it proposes to achieve a true and sizeable reduction of existing stockpiles, and to prevent deployment of new weapons systems in outer space, or on earth. This is a policy, honest and unmistakable, in conformity with the basic interests of mankind, a policy which leads to the consolidation of cooperation, peace, and calm on our planet. This policy has earned the tremendous support of the working people in all parts of the world, and it is high time for the leaders of the opposing bloc, the United States primarily, to honestly join the efforts of the Soviet Union. In this way an agreement will become possible.

Today the CPSU is appealing to all its members and to its basic party organizations to participate in intensified creative efforts. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev stated as follows: "IN ALL SECTORS OF WORK, EVERYWHERE, AND IN ALL MATTERS, THE COMMUNISTS MUST SET AN EXAMPLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIC DUTY, FOR CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORTS DEVOTED TO THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY, AND FOR THE STRICT OBSERVATION OF THE LENINIST STYLE OF WORK. THIS APPLIES, ABOVE ALL, TO THE PARTY CADRES AND TO THE PARTY AND STATE LEADERS. THE CPSU WILL UNRELENTINGLY IMPLEMENT A LINE OF INCREASED STRICTNESS AND ENHANCED RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE TO WHOM THE WORK HAS BEEN ENTRUSTED." In his speech at the funeral ceremony in Red Square, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out as follows: "WE WILL STRUGGLE AGAINST ANY MANIFESTATION OF VANITY AND IDLE TALK, AGAINST ARROGANCE AND IRRESPONSIBILITY, AGAINST ANYTHING THAT IS CONTRARY TO THE SOCIALIST NORMS OF LIFE. THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL ALSO IN THE FUTURE CONSTANTLY CONSOLIDATE THE COHESION OF THE PARTY, ITS LINKS WITH THE MASSES, AND WILL FURTHER IMPROVE THE STYLE OF PARTY, STATE, AND SOCIAL WORK." These words are particularly precious because they contain a specific evaluation of things, as well as a serious warning, and a special appeal to struggle against all those things that still occasionally obstruct the party in its work. These are words of basic significance, not only for the glorious Leninist party but for our own everyday life....

The Bulgarian Communists and all our people unanimously welcome the election of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The words expressed in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's telegram to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on the occasion of his election to the post of general secretary express the feelings of us all: "WE ARE FIRMLY CONFIDANT THAT THE INVIGORIATING BULGARIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, THE COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION AND DRAWING CLOSER TOGETHER BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE BCP, BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND PROSPER TO THE BENEFIT OF OUR TWO FRATERNAL PEOPLES, IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD-WIDE SOCIALISM."

There is no doubt, whatsoever, that every citizen of our motherland, with even more persevering efforts, with even more pronounced energy, and with even more specific involvement in the further consolidation of real socialism in our country, will participate in the great struggle for the preservation of universal peace. This is so because our most valuable contribution to this cause is to do everything within our power to consolidate the position of socialist Bulgaria so that our country may become more powerful in the economic sector, so that it may achieve even greater successes in the social and intellectual spheres, so that the monolithic unity of our people may become even more indestructible, and so that the friendship with the glorious Soviet Union and with the other fraternal, socialist states may be as pure and sacred as ever.

MLADENOV ATTENDS SOVIET FRIENDSHIP TREATY RALLY

AU182117 Sofia BTA in English 2005 GMT 18 Mar 85

["Decisive Impetus to Bulgaro-Soviet Brotherhood" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA) -- For thirty-seven years the Bulgarian working people have been practically vindicating the sacred principles of the first friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Today's meeting-rally in the capital was dedicated to the anniversary of the signature of that remarkable historic document.

The meeting was attended by Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, Mr Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the BCP, Mrs Tsola Dragoycheva, honorary president of the Nationwide Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Committee, senior officials of the CC of the BCP and others.

Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, spoke about the treaty which set the legal terms for and guaranteed the formation of a new, socialist type of relations between Bulgaria and the socialist countries. The Bulgaro-Soviet treaty, he said, has emerged as an important element in the political and contractual system of mutual relations among the socialist countries, a factor for the consolidation of their unity and for the promotion of their cooperation.

Today Bulgaro-Soviet brotherhood has grown into a matter of conscious creativity for the popular masses, emphasized the first deputy minister of foreign affairs. An exceedingly important place in the overall course of all-round proximity is given to the promotion of our economic contacts on the basis of the processes of integration. Over the last four decades of peoples rule the Soviet Union has rendered economic, credit and technical assistance for the construction of 330 plants and enterprises in this country. This is the basis of our economic potential, accounting for 80 percent of the overall industriai production.

The report went on to analyse to the all-round cooperation, interaction and cohesion between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union on the international scene. It recalled that the Bulgarian and the Soviet foreign policy pursue a common goal: to secure the most favorable international conditions for building the new society. The two states, along with the other socialist community countries, work consistently on the international scene for the sake of peace and understanding in Europe and worldwide.

COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SRV DELEGATION

AU152113 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA) -- The first agreement on cooperation was signed between the Fatherland Fronts of Bulgaria and Vietnam. The document is the result of the talks held here between Mr. Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria, and Mr. Huynh Tan Phat, president of the Presidium of the CC of the Fatherland Front of Vietnam. It is an expression of the desire of the fronts of the two countries to contribute to consolidating the friendship between the Bulgarian and the Vietnamese peoples.

I am convinced, Mr. Huynh Tan Phat said, that this agreement will aid the dynamic development and broadening of our contacts and the introduction of new forms in our cooperation. The agreement includes the 1985-89 period.

KUBADINSKI RETURNS FROM ETHIOPIAN TALKS 11 MAR

AU131646 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 85 p 6

[Text] Pencho Kubadinski, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, returned from Ethiopia yesterday. He is the chairman of the Joint Bulgarian-Ethiopian intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. As leader of the Bulgarian delegation he participated in the sixth session of the committee which reviewed the development of bilateral economic relations and trade, as well as of scientific-technological cooperation. The trends for the future development were mapped out.

At Sofia airport Comrade Pencho Kubadinski was greeted by Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Aile Mekonen [spelling as published], charge d'affaires ad interim of the Ethiopian Embassy in Sofia, was also among those present at the airport.

FILIPOV BEGINS MOSCOW VISIT, MEETS TIKHONOV

For Soviet coverage of the visit to Moscow by Grisha Filipov, BCP Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and his delegation, including his talks with Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, see the Eastern Europe section of the 19th March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

DEPUTY FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ARRIVES IN CYPRUS

For Nicosia coverage of the visit to Cyprus by a delegation headed by Atanas Ginev, first deputy minister of foreign trade, see the Cyprus section of the 19 March Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

SOVIET POLICY UNDER GORBACHEV A 'CONTINUATION'

AU141750 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Continuation of the Great Work"]

[Text] In deep reverence, the Soviet working people, the Czechoslovak people, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and all progressive mankind are paying respects to the memory of Konstantin Chernenko, an outstanding Soviet statesman. Tribute to his work is being paid by the entire Soviet society and party, whom he loyally served, contributing by his work and his lifelong effort to their striking progress in building developed socialism. At the same time, taking leave of him is becoming an expression of the firm resolve to unwaveringly continue the work which he had no time to fully accomplish because of the short time he held the supreme functions in the CPSU and the USSR.

And, as he himself often used to say in this statements, the CPSU and the entire Soviet society have quite a number of such tasks before them. It is necessary to continue to fulfill them without stopping. Mikhail Gorbachev, the newly elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary, spoke about these tasks at the extraordinary session of the party's Central Committee both clearly and unambiguously: "The strategic line worked out at the 26th CPSU Congress and at the following Central Committee sessions with the active participation of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was, and remains, unchanged. It is a line oriented toward speeding up the social and economic development of the country and perfecting all aspects of the life of society."

As he stated in his programmatic speech, concretization of this strategic line lies primarily in reorganization of the material-technical base of production and in perfection of the system of social relations; in the effort to accelerate the transition of the national economy to a path of intensive development, and in the inevitability of achieving leading positions in science and technology and top world standards in social labor productivity. For this it will be necessary in the future to also perfect the economic mechanism, to perfect the entire system of economic management, and to subordinate all economic development to the needs of the Soviet people, precisely in the interests of protecting peaceful work and fulfilling the party's programmatic principle -- everything in man's name and for man's benefit, with increasingly deeper and more specific contents. Comrade Gorbachev stressed that the party will consistently carry out the social policy which it has worked out; and, in improving the people's living standards, the party will proceed from their increasing contribution the common cause.

The CPSU is drawing attention to this subjective factor of creating material values particularly in connection with preparations for its 27th congress. In some directions -- for instance in enhancing the role of the soviets, or activating the trade unions, the Komsomol, the people's control, and the working collectives -- a lot has already been done. According to Comrade Gorbachev, one of the further directions of this work lies in the indivisible linkage of deepening the socialist democracy and enhancing social awareness so the growth of the Soviet people's work and social activity, the consolidation of discipline, and education in patriotism and internationalism can become the criteria of results achieved in the party's entire ideological activity. At the same time, he pointed out in particular the need to expand the public nature of the activities of party, state, and social organizations and to enhance the information supplied to the public as a prerequisite for the more conscious-minded work of the people and their active support of the party.

The world has also been attentively awaiting the new CPSU Central Committee general secretary's interpretation of the basic foreign policy stands of the Soviet Union in the present period.

In this connection, interest was focused particularly on the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva; there was even no lack of various speculations and guesses concerning the beginning of the negotiations or the USSR's stands. The fact that clearcut words have immediately come from Moscow, in the form of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's comprehensive statement on the basic foreign policy line and on the Geneva negotiations as the most significant event of the present, has had an effective impact everywhere in the world. "In the sphere of foreign policy, our line is clear and consistent. It is the line of peace and progress," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary declared. Of greatest importance among these foreign-political priorities he mentioned the task of consolidating the unity and mutual collaboration with the socialist states in the interest of enhancing the influence and position of socialism in international life. "The highest mandate for the party and the state is to guard and comprehensively consolidate the fraternal friendship with our closest comrades-in-arms and allies -- the countries of the great socialist community," he declared in his speech.

In the telegram to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on his election to the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, stressed that the fraternal relations between our parties, states, and nations -- which are deepening from year to year and which are based on the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism -- also play a great role in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. This is in the interest of the people of both our countries, in the interest of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, in the interest of the international communist and workers movement, and in the interest of the victory of the cause of socialism and peace.

In the greetings telegram, Comrade Husak emphasized on behalf of our party and people that Comrade Gorbachev pays constant attention to strengthening the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, alliance, and comprehensive cooperation. At the same time Comrade Husak said we highly value the vital contribution of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to the common struggle of the peace-loving, democratic, and progressive forces of the world aimed at preventing nuclear war and maintaining peace.

In his speech, Comrade Gorbachev expressed support for the struggle of nations for liberation from colonial oppression. Concerning relations with capitalist states, he said the USSR will consequentially abide by the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. The USSR will always meet goodwill with goodwill and trust with trust, but everyone must know that the USSR would never betray the interests of the fatherland and of its allies. Face to face with a terrible danger which has never before threatened mankind so much as it does now, Comrade Gorbachev underscored the only sensible solution: agreeing to immediately halt the feverish arms buildup, above all the nuclear buildup on earth and the militarization of outer space; agreeing on an honorable and equal basis, without attempts to harm the other side and dictate conditions to it; achieving agreement on the total liquidation and banning of nuclear weapons forever; and achieving agreement on total elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

These are the objectives of Soviet foreign policy, as stressed by Comrade Gorbachev, the USSR supreme representative; and the progressive world public and realistic government circles of many Western countries have welcomed these objectives with understanding and hope, expecting that the Geneva talks between the USSR and the U.S. delegations on the entire complex of nuclear and space weapons in general and eliminating the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. Regarding the Geneva negotiations, Comrade Gorbachev reaffirmed the known stance of the Soviet Union that it is not trying to achieve unilateral advantages over the United States or the NATO countries, that it is not striving for military superiority over them.

He also said the USSR wants to halt and not continue the feverish arms buildup, and therefore proposes freezing the nuclear arsenals and halting a further deployment of missiles. The USSR also wishes an effective and substantial reduction of the stockpiled armaments and not a creation of ever newer weapons systems, be they in outer space or on the Earth. Should the United States perceive the USSR stance in this way and reply in the same manner, an agreement would be possible and the nations of the world would heave a great sigh of relief.

The Soviet leadership -- in its statement to the Communist Party and the Soviet people -- reaffirmed that the Soviet Union threatens no one and does not strive for military superiority. However, it will not permit any country or any group of states to gain such superiority. Therefore, it will continue permanently to increase vigilance and reinforce the defense capability of the socialist fatherland.

The Soviet Union has been unwaveringly pressing for a constructive dialogue, for practical measures that would lead to easing international tension and establishing an atmosphere of trust, cooperation, and mutual understanding among all nations and states. This stance has always won the Soviet Union the sympathies and recognition of all peace-loving forces. This stance also has the unwavering support of the Czechoslovak people and the nations of the fraternal countries. The Soviet stance is in the interest of mankind, peace and the future of our civilization.

VACLAVIK TO VISIT USSR'S SOKOLOV IN MARCH

AU181106 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Moscow (CTK) -- Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, will depart for an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Sergey Sokolov, marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR minister of defense, in the second half of March.

'ACTIVE PARTICIPATION' IN INTERCOSMOS OUTLINED

LD181217 Prague CTK in English 1110 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK) -- The high standard of Czechoslovakia's space technology has resulted in Czechoslovakia's active participation in the Vega project, a part of Intercosmos, the program of research and peaceful use of outer space of the socialist countries. Czechoslovakia will produce platforms for apparatuses and cameras to be beamed at Venus and Halley's Comet from the Vega 1 and Vega 2 probes next year. Taking part in the Vega project are also France, Austria and the FRG.

Joint research within Intercosmos, comprising Czechoslovakia, the USSR, Bulgaria, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, GDR, Poland, Romania and since 1979 also Vietnam, is conducted by five permanent mixed working groups.

Czechoslovak experts have participated in all Intercosmos satellite experiments. The successes of Czechoslovak scientists include also the launching of Czechoslovakia's first satellite, the Magion, in 1978, which carried out measurements of the magnetosphere and ionosphere for three years [words indistinct] but improved satellites are being prepared by the institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Vladimir Remek of Czechoslovakia was the representative of a third country to go into outer space in 1978, forming together with Aleksey Gubarev of the USSR the first international crew of one spaceship. For the Salyut 6 and Salyut 7 orbital stations Czechoslovak scientists prepared an electrophotometer to measure the pollution of the atmosphere, an X-ray telescope and a set of medical instruments for taking blood in weightlessness.

EXPORT, IMPORT AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED AT LEIPZIG

AU151251 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 85 p 7

[Summary] Important export and import agreements were signed by GDR foreign trade enterprises at the Leipzig spring fair. On 13 March agreements were concluded with the USSR on mutual deliveries of electronic computing technology in the years 1986-1987. The agreements are based on specialization and cooperation agreements and amount to R141 million. They cover the delivery to the USSR of central units for electronic data processing facilities, text-processing systems and typewriters, and the delivery from the USSR to the GDR of equipment for electronic data processing, such as magnetic tape memories and small calculator complexes. Also on 13 March a long-term agreement was signed between the GDR and the USSR in the electrical sector and the chemical industry sector.

Under an agreement with the USSR, the GDR is to import 350 freight cars. Comprehensive agreements were signed with Mongolia, mainly concerning delivery of leather products, furs, and canned meat. The GDR will export to Mongolia chemical products, scientific appliances, and food and light industry equipment.

The GDR also signed an agreement with Poland on mutual deliveries of tubes and rails for the period 1985-1990.

Another agreement was signed between the GDR foreign trade chemical enterprise and the Shell International Petroleum Company on further cooperation in the chemistry sector.

The industrial equipment-import foreign trade enterprise and the FRG's Schwarz Company concluded an agreement on setting up a tempering facility for the machine and equipment building sector.

The GDR will export Carl Zeiss Jena products for remote surveying of the earth to the USSR and leather goods to Denmark, France, Austria, and Great Britain. The GDR will import trucks, Volga automobiles, and automotive spare parts from the USSR, pharamaceutical raw materials from Austria, and control and automation technology products from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Goods Exchange With Albania

AU151232 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] On Wednesday, 13 March, Dietrich Lemke, GDR deputy foreign trade minister, and Dimiter Karanxha, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, met at the Leipzig spring fair for talks on the state and further development of goods exchange between the GDR and the Socialist People's Republic of Albania. Intensive business neogitations on GDR deliveries of agricultural technical equipment, W-50 trucks, and machinery for the foodstuffs and beverage industry are an expression of the mutually advantageous economic relations.

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT SZCZECIN PZPR CONFERENCE

AU150501 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 85 pp 3-4

[Speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the accountability conference of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee in Szczecin on 9 March]

[Text] Dear Comrades! It is with real satisfaction that I am taking part in your party conference in the Szczecin region, an area which has been close to my heart for 40 years already.

As one of the first conferences in the present accountability campaign, this conference is summing up party work at the voivodship level. This is a particularly important platform both for the implementation of the party line and the resolutions of the Central Committee, and for enriching our politics with new, original solutions. It is a combination of independence, unity in action, one's own initiative, and discipline in implementing the party line which defines the great role played by the voivodship party cells and the aktivs gathered in them. That is how our status, written out of the will of the entire party and adopted at the ninth congress, views this role, for the principles of democratic centralism and the Leninist norm of party life and work have been incorporated in this statute in a creative way and translated into practical language.

In the past we have paid a high price for paresis in internal democracy, initiative, and independence; and for a lack of energetic party influence from the masses on the shaping of the party line. On the other hand, we have keenly felt a lack of self-restraint, loss of the feeling of responsibility, and the disappearance of unity of thought and deed, which have weakened and disintegrated the party's leading role.

The slogan formulated at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum -- "The party is the same party but not the way it was" -- contained conclusions stemming from the previously mentioned experiences. The good of the workers class and working people in socialist Poland demands a united, cohesive, and disciplined party, but at the same time one that is lively, creative, and critically minded. A constant flow of stimuli -- from the leadership via party cells to the primary organizations and vice versa, from the primary organizations via the cells to the Central Committee -- is needed.

It is in this direction that the process of consolidating the party, strengthening its influence, and increasing its efficiency, is more and more clearly heading, despite the numerous weaknesses and difficulties. The course of the accountability campaign so far, both in your voivodship and all over the country, is proof of the further progress that has been made along this road. In most places, though not yet everywhere, accountability meetings and conferences have become important events in the life of social and professional circles.

An important characteristic of them is realism in assessment and accuracy in the formation of tasks. Most of the conferences taking place harmoniously combine what is important from the point of view of society in general with what is important on a local and factory level and what encourages better work and the satisfaction of human needs.

Such a view of matters is important in order to strengthen the bonds with society and establish understanding and trust between the party authorities and party members, and between the party and society.

We endeavor to speak about our achievements -- and the list of these is becoming longer and longer -- with deserved satisfaction, but without rapture, and in correct proportion to the still considerable weaknesses and to our reserves.

At the same time, we are learning to highlight shortcomings in the course of honest criticism which is free of dodges and veiled truths, but also free of exaggerations and sensationalism.

Despite the undoubted progress, the party is still faced with the question of how to turn criticism and self-criticism into an ideological-ethical verifier and a daily method of improving the quality of party action. Nothing will replace these instruments. Apart from creating measurable values, they serve to educate our ranks in the spirit of high requirements. They shape communists; people who are sure of their ideological interests and conscious of their achievements, but who always adapt themselves to the still existing possibilities and to the needs of workers and society, and are thus people whose creativity is unsatisfied.

Now that normalization is increasing and the changes initiated by the party are entering into practice more and more, we should be particularly careful that the feeling of social service in our work does not die; that our requirements do not weaken; and that insensitivity, a tendency toward bureaucratic rule, and arrogance do not return.

The fabric of our credibility and social confidence, rebuilt with such labor, is still very sensitive and delicate. Confidence is gained slowly but lost quickly. It happens that one single step cancels out the results of a year's work, and even many years of work.

The goals and principles of socialist renewal are not a slogan nor a tactical maneuver. The most vital need is a deep conviction in the activity of our party.

People have spoken today, especially comrades Janusz Kiewicz, Gorkiewicz, and Witek, about the need to struggle for higher principled ideology, a more profound Marxist-Leninist awareness, and more universal energy and effectiveness of action by our party ranks. We have done a lot in this sphere compared to the situation in which we started, but still far too little compared to needs. Unlike many large party organizations, many small ones are still too weak in the activity. They become animated during great campaigns, but do not display much initiative on a daily basis, initiative that is much needed by society. There is still a large amount of passiveness. The price we are paying for political vacillation and organization destabilization at the height of the crisis is such that some ideologically unstable but energetic people have become lost and have broken off their ties with the party, whereas some passive people who never made their presence felt remain in the party to this day.

If we say that the most dramatic times behind us but the most difficult ones ahead, we also have in mind the need to take a deeper look at the causes and signs of passiveness. The principle of individual work with party members and the individual assessment of them must be rigidly applied every day. It is not enough to say that a party member has not done anything wrong. He must show that he has done a concrete positive deed, even if it is a modest one.

Following the national conference of PZPR delegates, the number of people joining the party rose from one month to the next, especially in the second half of last year. The considerable percentage of people aged under 30 among those joining creates prospects for an improvement in the party's generation composition. The losses in membership over the last months may be regarded as normal for a mass party. The growth in the number of expulsions coupled with a reduction in the number of resignations means that the party is determined to clean up its ranks systematically. There are figures which prove that for the first time in 5 years, this year will end with a greater number of party members and candidate members that at the beginning of the year.

It ought to be stressed that in this context, the Szczecin party organization stands out positively. In 1984, it accepted almost 1,500 candidate members, three times more than in 1983. Almost half of them were workers and peasants. Continuing this work, you will certainly reach next year's 10th congress with a considerable achievement.

The fulfillment of History's Judgment Has been No Coincidence

You live and work in a region which has been very important both in the 1,000 years of Polish statehood and in the 40 years of people's socialist history which has crowned this period.

The name Szczecin is today identified with Poland and Polishness, just like Krakow and Lublin, Lodz and Katowice, and Poznan and Gdansk. However, this fulfillment of the just judgment of history has not been a coincidence. It was defined in the program of the communists. It was passed by the will of our heroic nation and its unshakable Soviet ally. It was carried out by the Soviet Army and the Polish Army fighting together with it.

Forty years have passed since the memorable days in which the operations of the first and second Belorussian front, combined with the glorious work of the first Polish Army and of the artillery units under the supreme Polish Army Command, led to the complete liberation of western Pomerania during bloody encounters. White-and-red border markers were set up on the Baltic and the Odra River. This is a wonderful chapter, glorious entry, and beautiful tradition in the history of the struggle for national and social liberation. Thus, the seed of Poland's present and future was sown 40 years ago on the Baltic and the Odra River, on soil earned with the blood of soldiers.

We returned to those lands which had been given unfair treatment by successive German states. For over 100 years these lands had been the scene of the so-called Ostflucht -- escape from the East -- which was the other side of the "Drang nach Osten" policy. History has made good the mass evacuation ordered by the Nazi authorities. The soldiers of the liberating armies entering western Pomerania found that over half of all fixed assets had been irreparably destroyed, and not more than a quarter of the prewar population was still there. Those were the basic facts, which are being covered up by revanchist propaganda today.

Thanks to the pioneering spirit and organizational talent of the rapidly increasing Polish community -- which Comrade Strzeszewski has recalled today -- Szczecin and western Pomerania pulled themselves out of the ruins within several years. The region became one of the best-managed parts of socialist Poland and an integral and organic part of it. Already in the first half of the fifties, the period of German domination was erased by the size of the population, natural growth rate, industrial and maritime potential, science, education, culture, and social infrastructure.

The whole of Poland hailed the gigantic port development program that had been set in motion -- they hailed the first ocean-going vessel to be built by a Szczecin shipyard, the opening of the first and second docks of Swinoujscie as a basic component of the great port complex, and the emergence of seamen and trawlermen from Szczecin on the seas of the world.

Today, Szczecin is one of the seven most industrialized urban areas in Poland, and occupies fourth place in terms of agricultural goods production. The workers, farmers, and all honest working people of this region deserve honest recognition for these results, which are generally higher than the national average.

The mixing into one society of settlers from all parts of Poland and the world, the youth of the inhabitants, the extensive professional and cultural ambitions, the location at the crossroads of international trade and tourist routes -- these are just some of the factors that determine this region's extensive energy. Added to this is the fact that the region possesses all types of schools and colleges, theaters, music halls, museums, research centers, and a press and television center, all of which are important in the country's educational and cultural sphere.

Such a rapid and comprehensive development would not have been possible without many kinds of people. Szczecin gave to the country Comrade Piotr Zaremba, a builder of People's Poland; and numerous scientists, architects, urban planners, creators of Polish culture, masters of production and management; masters of maritime and industrial production and transportation, and specialists in intensive high-output farming.

During the first period of postwar development, your region attracted cadres from various parts of the country. Today it is repaying this debt with interest. Many activists who were educated here are today working in the Central Committee, in state authorities and institutions of national importance. This proves that pioneerlike conditions encourage development, educate, and give rise to political maturity and social activity.

Economic Reform Means People's Energy

The party organization, workers class, and the whole of society in your region have had to experience many difficult trials. One can say that the drama of the December 1970 events and of the economic crisis of recent years found sharp expression here. It is no secret that such concepts as the August workers protest and accords, and the patriotic and prosocialist forces, but also the counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces as well, possess tangible and direct significance in Szczecin.

The experiences of the past have been honestly and critically assessed. From this assessment has emerged the principled and creative Marxist-Leninist line of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress -- a line of accord, struggle, socialist renewal, and creative reforms, which suits the slogan "Socialism yes -- distortions no." We will not let ourselves be pushed away from this line. It is being and will be consistently implemented in order to defend socialism and exploit all the creative possibilities inherent in it.

Despite the efforts of the political adversary, the Szczecin party organization has managed to forge its difficult and painful experience into a deep and effective involvement in implementing our party line and into good work results. The realism of Comrade Miskiewicz's report and the discussion during today's conference are eminent proof of this.

The progress in normalization can be felt in particular. Already more than half of all employed persons belong to the trade unions. Most trade unionists, 68 percent of them, are workers. However, one should expect the trade union movement to encompass the medium and lower levels of technical supervision to a greater extent. Members of various former trade union streams are cooperating in harmony. The administration and the trade unionists are earning experience through their cooperation. There are of course discrepancies and differing opinions. There is nothing sensational about this. On the contrary, it is natural, if it leads in the end to the joint goal of the welfare of working people and of socialist Poland.

Evidence of the effectiveness of party influence on your region is, among other things, the good cooperation between trade unions and workers self-management bodies.

A person does not automatically become a joint manager of his enterprise. He only does so after a long road of gathering experience, and shaping a class economic awareness in the full sense of the word. Workers councils are operating in practically every single enterprise in the voivodship. The stance of the voivodship committee, which during the initial period of workers council activity tried to break the vacillations and resistance occurring among some founding bodies, has been confirmed. Confidence has turned out to be a profitable political investment. Most of the self-management bodies are energetic and are learning to combine the factory's interests with those of the entire economy and trying to overcome parochial trends. However, today one must learn more quickly, and under difficult conditions. Therefore, greater initiatives are expected from self-management bodies aimed at organizational improvement, technological progress, rationalization, inventiveness, good quality, and austerity.

Economic reform has become a fact. It must be both praised and criticized. It must be praised for its firm influence on the progress achieved and for the increasingly better production and management results, and criticized for the sluggishness of the process of liberating reserves. It must also be criticized because in more than one case the bookkeeping side of the economic reform has moved ahead of the innovative side, which is the side that determines everything.

However, the reform does not contain miraculous mechanisms. It consists primarily of human energy. It is people who determine its effects and the way in which the reform's possibilities are used. Here I would like to stress with satisfaction that, thanks to the clear dedication of the voivodship committee, administration, and aktivs for the sake of implementing the economic reform, its effects are already clearly visible and useful.

This year will conclude the implementation of the 1983/85 3-Year Plan. It was preceded by 4 years of falling income. As a result, the national income has fallen by about Z1 billion since 1978. This is equivalent to the cost of building 400,000 apartments plus infrastructure, or the combined outlay on education and medical care for the next decade, in other words 2,500 schools, 3,000 kindergartens, 55,000 hospital beds, 400 health centers, and 280 day clinics.

In the last 2 years, we have managed to make good half of these losses, which is considerably more than we envisaged in the 3-Year Plan. But in order to reach the level we had 7 years ago, half as much again remains to be done. The situation in the shipping industry illustrates this. In 1981 we launched 33 ships with a combined deadweight tonnage of 360,000. Last year 55 ships with a combined deadweight tonnage of 485,000 were launched. This is already one-third more, but still only half of the 1975 production, at the same time that the foreign currency influx is considerably smaller.

During this time, other countries have not been making good any losses, but have increased their development potential to various extents. At least they have gone forward. There is also the fact that we have had one of the highest natural growth rates in Europe, and our population has grown by 2 million since 1979. It stems from this that we have 6 percent more people, yet as a result of cuts in working hours, among other things, the national income is still 14 percent lower, or 18 percent lower in per capita terms. There is therefore less to be divided, and it has to be divided among more people. This is not only an economic conclusion, but also a social and moral one.

We Have More To Do Than Usual

The results of the first 2 years of the 3-year plan have created favorable conditions for clearly exceeding basic economic tasks. That is how we still viewed the situation last December.

Nevertheless, after 2 months of the new year, there is a fear that we may lose what we gained over and above the plan during the last 2 years. The winter turned out to be one of the coldest this century. It has been colder than the one in 1979, which caused so much damage and upset transportation and energy. And how was it this time? Local disruptions have of course occurred. Some apartments, schools, and production premises suffered heating cuts. But the economy as a whole has passed this exceptionally difficult test. Timely activities have concentrated particularly on protecting the population's working and living conditions. Supplies of fuel to boilers and power stations have been guaranteed. In January and February alone 3.5 million more metric tons of coal were used for heating purposes. Gas and energy consumption for communal purposes increased considerably. On the whole transportation has functioned normally, especially municipal transportation. Many work forces deserve thanks for facing up to the difficulties and for their dedicated work and service under such unfavorable conditions, which after all caused serious disruption in countries that are much richer than ours.

However, this does not mean that we have avoided the negative effects of the winter. There was increased consumption of fuels, at the cost of supplies to industry and transportation and at the cost of exports. Industrial production, construction, the communal economy, and agriculture all suffered.

The losses so far in the production of basis goods are as follows: half a million metric tons of steel, 200,000 metric tons of metal products, 140,000 metric tons of sulfur, about 1 million metric tons of cement, and 50,000 metric tons of fertilizers. Some 27 percent less goods have been handled in ports. The layover time of ships has lengthened. Fish catches have fallen by almost 50 percent. We will lose about $180 million because of diminished exports alone. A considerable portion of these losses concerns factories in continous production; therefore, the losses will be difficult to make good during direct production.

In January, 11 voivodships did not complete one single apartment. Against this background, the Szczecin Voivodship appears very favorably. It turns out that, just as Comrades Malec and Natkaniec have said, very much can be done if one wants to do it and if one does not seek so-called objective obstacles. We will suggest to other voivodships that they examine and use the good Szczecin experience in this sphere. Finally, in some regions of the country we must expect losses of winter crops, fruit growing in orchards, and vegetables stored in the soil. There may be delay with work in the fields and with sowing.

The complete balance sheet of the effects of this winter is still not known. I say balance sheet because there are gains as well. For example, the winter has also caused a decline in Colorado potato beetles, a pest which has been so troublesome in recent years. All in all, however, the losses are considerable. If we fail to make them good, there will be a serious threat to the planned 4 percent growth in industrial production, and hence to the national income. Therefore, proceeding to make good the losses at every work post and in every factory is not only a production and economic matter. It is also a great social and political problem.

In the remaining 10 months of this year we have more to do than usual. Is it feasible? I think it is. According to specialists, we will suffer heavy losses because of poor production quality. They will certainly be considerably greater than the losses caused by the winter. Look how materials and energy are wasted, regardless of whether it is hot or cold. Sulfur, cement, and fertilizers all compact or become damp. Rolled metal products sometimes corrode because of faulty treatment. Controls are revealing many such cases.

I have dwelt longer on this issue in order to stress the need for greater involvement and at the same time point out the chance presented by the great reserves that are still inherit as far as production quality and generally efficient management are concerned.

Work facilities determine productivity and production quality. Therefore, it will be necessary to allocate more and more funds to replace worn-out and outdated machines and equipment. The influx of materials both from domestic production and from imports will be increasingly expensive.

The demographic situation is such that the increase in manpower will be small, and the growth in the number of children and people beyond working age increasingly greater. The needs concerning environmental protection will be so great that the situation maay only be eased. You can feel this in your own voivodship as well. Despite the great outlay, it has not been possible to halt the deterioration of the environment. The region around Szczecin city, Swinoujscie, and Police has been included among areas of ecological danger. Such are the conditions. They do not apply only to us. They affect the development of most countries in the world to some extent. Some countries are able to manage better, some worse.

How do we intend to and how should we deal with these problems? The most important matter is to speed up technological progress and develop Polish technological inventiveness and its applications in the economy. For this purpose, we will commence an entire series of material, cadre, and organizational undertakings. We will increase outlay considerably. A committee for science and technological progress and an office of inventions have been set up. We are aiming toward an organizational integration of research and production. We are providing stronger economic incentives for inventiveness and rationalization. We are providing long-term guarantees of favorable economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. We have perfected the economic management system by combining the values of central planning with the independence of enterprises and with the initiative workforces.

T e Permanent Programmatic Value of the 16th Plenum

Not everything we do succeeds. We are agreed that good work deserves good pay and that we cannot afford to accumulate materials and energy, that quality is the number one task, and that the national income will rise in line with an improvement in management.

Yet practice often follows its own path. Progress is unequal and not commensurate with real possibilities. We spoke about it at the latest 18th Central Committee Plenum. Its resolution is still valid. The time has come to act more effectively, remove the obstacles which prevent progress, and create and encourage those factors which accelerate development and improve efficiency. These goals will be the subject of the national conference on the functioning of the economic system during the next 5 years.

We are not ceasing to be a nation of paradoxes. Enterprises are complaining about fluctuations in employment and the manpower shortage. For example, in your voivodship there are 85 job offers for every job-seeker. But what happens? In January, the voivodship employment department organized a "job market" for persioners and women on maternity leave who were seeking part-time work. About 1,000 factories were invited to participate in it. Twenty-eight of them produced 1,000 offers of employment. Yet 6,000 candidates turned up. What does this mean? It means that those crying out for manpower are not really keen to seek it, while those who seem not in a hurry to work would willingly do so. Unfortunately, comrades, there are more people ready to criticize difficulties than those ready to overcome them with all available strength and resources.

Such strong emphasis on shortage, neglect, and dangers cannot diminish the progress achieved in recent years. This progress is still huge despite all the obstacles, discrepancies and various difficulties.

We owe this progress to the initiative and dedicated work of numerous enterprises, cooperatives, farms, design offices, and so on, which are achieving more and doing so better. They are an example for others. They determine at the same time how large our reserves are and how much we could achieve if we "tidied up our front." Specific people are responsible for this. We will and we must sharpen our demands from ministeries, enterprises, and the state and economic administration. We expect the same attitude from the people's councils, self-management bodies, and trade unions. This is our common duty, and a great task for the entire party.

Society in the Szczecin region is emerging from a deeply-torn state. Although accord is still not universal and the reserves, as the speeches from this podium have shown, are still far from being fully used, there is visible and tangible progress. The class struggle is continuing, but the situation within the workers class has changed for the better. The demagogic slogans and destructive activity of the opponent are ceasing to be heard by the work forces. This is a great achievement.

We must go further; we must get through even better to vacillating and distrustful people, increase our influence on young people, and work directly and every day with that part of the intelligentsia that has the closest contact with the workers class -- engineers, technicians, and economists in enterprises.

Behind us is the 16th Central Committee Plenum, which was without precedent in the party's history. It was not a single act designed to earn applause. In accordance with the desire of the ninth congress, it enhanced our party's workers line permanently. We presented our case honestly. We opposed simplifications. And at the same time we confronted broadly and with principle those aims that are correct and fully justified in the aspirations of workers. These aims include observance of the socialist principles of social justice -- beginning with establishing the level of wages and ending with actual work contribution; opposing scheming and speculation; increasing workers real influence and participation in the activity of the party, representative bodies, social organizations, and public institutions; participation in control processes inside one's own factory; and developing the system of consultations in which the opinion of workers should find its rightful key place.

The decisions of the 16th plenum have a permanent programmatic value for our party. They are and must be consistently implemented. Let me recall last year's large-scale workers consultations. Their results have been published and propagated. They are fully taken into consideration when further decisions are made, for example on social policy, greater powers for trade unions, how to set the worker-peasant inspectorate in motion, and the system of accepting students to colleges of higher education.

There is an increasingly clearer influx of workers to the party and an increase in their numbers among the party aktivs and in various committees. Your idea of setting up broad groups of nonparty workers' aktivs in factories, a kind of motivational and advisory backing for factory party organizations, deserves to be publicized.

Of course, this process is still very new; nevertheless the steps taken are in the right direction. The point is not to exalt the workers class at the expense of other groups of working people. Class egotism has been and remains alien to a conscious worker. The point is to increase their influence and consolidate their position, for this is the same as socialism's influence and position.

As we know, the next Central Committee plenum will be devoted to a complex examination of the problems of the intelligentsia and its duty in socialist Poland. The party, the intelligentsia itself, and the whole of society need a full, accurate, and just picture of the differences, and often contrasts, which appear in individual groups and circles of this social stratum.

The growth of the intelligentsia's role -- the number of educated specialists is 12 times larger than before the war -- is the natural result of the country's socialist development and of the social and cultural changes and needs.

The preparations for the plenum are designed to find, together with those concerned, a suitable and fruitful reply to the following basic question: What helps and what hinders the intelligentsia in its tasks toward a fatherland in need, and what should be done in order to improve the intelligentsia's working conditions as much as possible? On what tasks should strength and resources be concentrated in order to increase the rate of progress and make good the lost time more quickly?

Since the war, Szczecin and western Pomerania have created a considerable potential of energetic forces and a good tradition of patriotic service. An honest analysis of and suitable conclusions from this conference are bound to make a valuable consistent implementation.

I have listened carefully to your opinions on the activity and development prospects of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It is natural that this young movement is developing and consolidating itself in the Szczecin region. The party is honestly concerned that its importance, authenticity, and dynamics of action should suit today's needs.

Against this background I wish to stress the importance of the operation to build 50 schools in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Szczecin region, and of the A. Warski shipyard's initiative to perform social pledges in aid of the Szczecin University. These are beautiful examples of how to overcome the atmosphere whereby it is impossible to reanimate the best traditions of social activity.

Comrades! The resolutions of the 17 plenum are and will remain a permanent programmatic guideline. The latest months have completely confirmed their correctness.

The kidnapping and killing of Father Popieluszko has subjected our state and civic maturity to a difficult test. The trial of the perpetrators, held in full view of the law, showed that we regard the socialist rule of law as absolute, without any restrictions or exceptions whatsoever. There is one law and it applies equally to everyone. In order for the state to be safe, every citizen must be safe. In order for the citizen to be safe, the state must be safe.

There can be no enclaves in socialist Poland. Regardless of the banners, customs, or slogans under which cases of lawlessness and crime occur, their perpetrators are being and will be ruthlessly prosecuted.

This is and this will be our party stance. It is dictated by concern for the success of our nation and for the prestige of the people's state. At the same time, this gives us not only the formal right, but also the moral right to sharpen requirements concerning the observance of the law by all milieux and by every citizen.

Many speakers, including Comrades Sperczynski, Cichecki, Kaminski, and Fronczak, have spoken about the disturbing conduct of some clergymen. Against this background I wish to share a certain thought. The presence of the Catholic Church is an inseparable part of the Polish presence in the "territory regained after centuries," as Pope John XXIII beautifully said.

Unbridled Politicking Is Incompatible With Clerical Duty

Combatants remember with respect the priests attached to the first and second Polish armies. These priests combined soldierly duty with clerical obligation, encouraging faith and certainty that our nation would never again let itself be pushed off the lands of the Piast dynasty.

As a result of Poland's return to the northern and western territories, the church's assets increased enormously. It gained ownership rights for over 5,000 churches and chapels plus 1,500 other buildings in these areas. Despite the inflexible and often downright hostile stance toward Poland held by some circles in the Rome hierarchy for many years, including Pius XII, the Catholic Church in Poland took deep root in the Piast homelands. We stress with recognition that it encouraged and is encouraging this homeland's inseparable connection with the rest of Poland.

Over 4,000 priests are performing their clerical duties here, and almost 5,000 churches and chapels are operating. Many new church premises and related buildings are under construction. Numerous alumni are studying in seminars in the western and northern territories.

These are the facts which speak for themselves greatly. Unfortunately they do not mean the same to everyone. This is illustrated by reoccuring provocative sermons, politicized displays and manager scenes, and other excesses unworthy of a place of religious worship. One may gain the impression that it is not the limitless heroism of Soviet soldiers, of whom about 200,000 died on these territories; not the blood of the Polish left wing; and not the hard Soviet stance in Yalta and Potsdam that restored the Odra River and Baltic to Poland, but solely a miraculous twist of fate.

The old hymn is often sung today which says "Lord, return to us a free fatherland," referring to a shameful but subsequently glorious part of history, but in fact meaning modern Poland. The question arises: Is it a "free" fatherland from the Bug to the Warta Rivers that is meant? Free of what? Of Polish Szczecin, with its Polish cathedral, Polish shipyard and, very soon Polish university? A fatherland "free" of guarantees of security, but generously burdened with unemployment instead?

Maybe it should be a fatherland "free" of Polish dioceses and vicars, and ruled instead in the western territories by the Reverend Wothe from Hildesheim or by Prelate Koening from Muenster, who holds to this very day the office of "apostolic visitor for the diocese of Breslau".

This is sad, sometimes alarming, and even deeply immoral, But most often of all it teaches us a lesson. For behind the screen of beautiful words, one sees in a series of cases an increasingly blatant display of unbridled politicking. Stressing once again our goodwill and the permanence of the socialist state's religious policy, we expect with growing concern and impatience an understanding of and adherence to our party and government's frequently repeated stance on this issue.

Comrades! The current international situation is difficult. Against this background we perceive with particular clarity the importance of our country's security and defense, especailly here in Szczecin, the most westerly part of Poland.

What has happened in our foreign policy in the past few years? First, our countries have improved in all spheres -- politically, economically, scientifically, and culturally. This reorientation is becoming a fact. Every day of new positive experience with the socialist partners and every day of regression in relations with some capitalist countries enhances this process. At the same time, one must particularly recall in Polish Szczecin the close fraternal relations joining Poland and the GDR, our neighbor and ally.

Second, we have also undertaken and will continue the kind of reorientation which to a major extent means Poland's alignment toward those countries which have understood our problems in the most difficult times and which may be at the same time our natural and complementary partners, as well as attractive, honest, and loyal ones.

I wish to mention in particular out recent visit to India. Both countries highly valued its results. The decisions reached during this visit are being transformed into concrete contracts and agreements. Similar trends are taking place with many other neutral, nonaligned, and developing countries.

Third, profound differences have occurred in our relations with the capitalist countries. One can say that some of them are also undertaking their own kind of reorientation. Some of our partners give evidence of their realism and are restructuring their relations with Poland, guiding themselves properly by their own interests and out of concern for European security and stability. Nevertheless, there remains a small but influential group of countries which is not ceasing to intimidate Poland. They are harming our country wherever possible, from the economic platform right up to the UN Human Rights Commission, and from shameless propaganda manipulation right up to the purely military sphere.

Let me make a short digression here. I have listened with interest to the speech of Comrade Klamerek, who spoke about the situation in Police and about the effectiveness of the work of our specialists, with the help of our GDR friends, to set the factory there in motion and keep it running properly. As we know, in March 1982, during the final phase of installing and switching on equipment, the French specialists deserted the site and halted supplies. Even a complicated valve sent away to be repaired under guarantee was withheld. The aim was clear: The credit had been received and nearly spent and it was necessary to repay it; but the installations could remain inoperative as part of the sanctions. But look what happened -- Polish engineers took Polish valves, Polish factories adapted them, Polish specialists set production in motion, and the withheld valve remains in Paris to this day. It can stay there.

Confrontational Anticommunism Hits Poland the Hardest

Comrades! We do not submit to any kind of "reversed messianism," we do not regard Poland as the "center of the world." However, we must not fail to notice that aggressive, confrontational anticommunism has been hitting socialist Poland first and hardest in recent times.

The American Administration has entered another phase of the anti-Polish crusade in recent months. We have decided to work out a further volume of documentation, the so-called white book, on this issue. Every party member and every Pole, regardless of his personal views, should acquaint himself with the attempts and mechanisms to harm the Polish economy and thus the entire nation, methods which the United States is using against a country with which it allegedly intends to maintain normal relations.

The United States did not consider it enough to paralyze Polish production spheres connected with American technology. It was not enough to break interstate agreements and trample on the inviolable principles of international law, including the crowning principle of "pacta sund servanda." It was not enough to erect an iron curtain [zelaza hurtuna] around Poland, a process which has been going on now for 4 years.

Now delays are emerging. First an offer is made to restore to Poland its fishing rights in American waters. Immediately afterwards, however, it turns out that the size of the catches will be reduced to a level below the profitability limit. First, an agreement is phrased on the recommencement of normal air traffic, and immediately afterwards its signing is postponed under the first available pretext. First the renewal of trade and research cooperation is proposed, and immediately afterwards the talks announced on this topic are called off.

If that is the way "normalization American style" is supposed to look, then indeed we will have to wait. The conditions of "normalization Polish style" are simple and well known.

They are based on honest and understandable principles. One such principle is respect for PPR sovereignty and refraining from interfering in our domestic affairs. Another is equality in bilateral relations and the observance of international norms, contracts, and agreements. Another is the unequivocal recognition of the inviolability of Poland's borders and of the basic prerequisites for Poland's security.

Poland has always declared its desire to normalize relations with its creditor countries. Despite the blocking by NATO countries of talks on the rescheduling of debts at the beginning of 1982, we have been trying to maintain contacts and have been ready to hold talks. In the beginning of 1984, talks were renewed whereby Poland, as an expression of good will, rescheduled a part of its debts. One of the features of this agreement was the normalization of financial-credit relations between Poland and the creditor countries.

This month there was another meeting of the Paris Club. However, the stance of the creditor countries stiffened. They put forth new demands, and are departing from the essence of the agreement in some sense. However, Poland maintains its readiness to hold talks on the basis of pragmatism and completely taking into account the interests and possibilities of both sides.

A new and significant fact is that at the last moment, the FRG has assumed the role of "storm troopers" against Poland in the Paris Club. We must measure the FRG's intentions not according to diplomatic rhetoric, but according to concrete facts, including economic ones. We are honestly interested in good relations with the FRG. We want a Poland-FRG accord and cooperation to become a really important component part of a better climate of European politics and our joint contribution to European peace. It is in this constructive spirit that our talks with Minister and Vice Chancellor Genscher took place. If, however, the FRG Government declares its desire for unification and at the same time hits at Poland and the Poles in such an important financial sphere for us, it undermines its own authority as a partner in international relations.

There is a good basis for mutually advantageous cooperation between the PPR and FRG in accordance with the letter and spirit of Helsinki, and most of all on the inviolable basis of the December 1970 treaty. There is no other possibility, and there will be none. In the end, it is from the German language that the expression "Realpolitik" comes, an expression borrowed by so many other languages.

Dear comrades and citizens of Szczecin! As Poles and as communists, it is our nature to be optimists. We have reason to be. Our nation, subjugated more than once and even condemned to oblivion, has "won itself independence" and has survived despite all the odds. The people have pulled their country out of the ruins, built a modern economy, and developed impressive science, education, and culture. Today, as well, they are gradually, stubbornly, and consistently overcoming all the various difficulties and building a better and more propitious future.

The party is leading us along this road. This year is another stage in our efforts. We have recognized it as particularly important to concentrate on the assessment and implementation of the resolutions and decisions adopted in recent years. We expect that the Szczecin party organization will perform this task honorably.

Thanking you for your conscientious work on behalf of the Central Committee and Politburo, I wish at the same time that our most noble common desire -- the good of the nation and the success of the socialist fatherland -- may be fulfilled forever.

PZPR LEADERS APPEAR AT ACCOUNTABILITY CONFERENCE

AU152015 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 11 March on pages 1 and 2 carries an 8,000-word roundup on six PZPR voivodship accountability conferences, all of which took place on 9 March and at which various PZPR Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries spoke. These conferences include the Szczecin conference at which PZPR first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke.

Speaking at the Zielona Gora accountability conference, Politburo Member Tadeusz Porebski pointed out a still unsatisfactory growth in the membership of primary party organizations. "Only every third primary party organization has been receiving new members recently, and of these too few are young people. The essential change in this state of affairs demands from every organization greater militancy and planned, premeditated actions," he said.

At the Pila conference, Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon pointed out the need to perpetuate the achievements of the Pila PZPR Committee. He said: "This requires greater animation of primary party bodies and the consistent implementation of resolutions, as well as an adherence to the rules of efficient management."

Politburo Candidate Member Marian Orzechowski attended the Chelm conference. He praised the party for its efforts: "Although the party has lately been acting under very difficult conditions, it has been able to proceed to resolve important problems of the country and society, consolidate its ranks, reestablish its authority, and gain increasing confidence." Concluding his speech, he said: "The next few months will bring important events for the entire country, at the forefront of which will be the Sejm elections. Difficult tasks face the party and its members. The country's economic situation will largely determine society's moods. All forces must be mobilized in order to improve this situation."

At the Bydgoszcz conference, Politburo Member Henryk Bednarski spoke about the anti-communist opposition. "There continue to be opponents to the system who have not come to terms with defeat and who dream of achieving decisive influence on social life, which in effect is meant to lead to a change in system. Although this is not supported by any political realism, which in itself rules out any chance of success of these plans right from the start, the fact remains that we are forced to be constantly sensitive and ready to repulse further attacks by the opponent."

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek spoke at the Ciechanow conference. He pointed out the need to put into practical use the information contained in the party press and Central Committee publications. "Members should reach for these publications and assimilate the knowledge and arguments therein, in order to be able to oppose destructive activity effectively," he said.

In addition, Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 12 March on page 5 carries an 800-word report on the 11 March accountability conference of the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee, which was attended by Politburo Candidate Member Jan Glowczyk. Glowczyk pointed out the importance of a flow of information from the party. "We attach a great deal of importance to ideological work. We as a party must particularly see to it that the socialist system of values, proper human relations, and people's convictions and opinions are propagated, because the rate with which we overcome the present difficulties depends on ideological motivation," he said.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS URBAN 12 MAR PRESS CONFERENCE

AU181020 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 85 pp 4-5

[PAP report on press conference given to foreign journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 12 March]

[Excerpts] On 12 March, there was a weekly press conference for foreign journalists given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban. As usual, a group of Polish journalists also attended.

J. Urban said that economic talks between Poland and the FRG will shortly begin in Warsaw. We hope we will agree on the most important matters. The constructive spirit of Minister Genscher's visit to Poland creates positive preconditions for the fulfillment of these expectations. Economic affairs are an important part of the complex mutual relations between Poland and the FRG. They also directly affect the European political climate. Therefore, we attach great importance to partnerlike joint activity between our countries, including in the financial sphere.

Michael Kaufman from THE NEW YORK TIMES asked whether there is a connection between Polish domestic policy, including the price rises and the arrest of some underground activists on the one hand, and the attitudes of Western states toward Poland on the other.

I wish to stress for probably the 100th time in this hall, J. Urban said, that no pressure, praise, or intimidation from the West has had nor will have any influence on Poland's domestic policy. The domestic policy of the PPR authorities, including those undertakings designed to guarantee society's calm, stem solely from our domestic policy needs and from our raison d'etat. That is how it was and that is how it will remain.

Bob Strybel, representative of the Polish emigre press, asked about the state of work on setting up the agricultural foundation, and why the government is delaying its registration.

It is not the government that is delaying, J. Urban replied. He then quoted from a speech by Jozef Cardinal Glemp that was carried in the Western press and made during his visit to Great Britain. Replying to a question asking when the agricultural foundation would appear, the primate of Poland had said: "I cannot give an answer. On the church's part, the legal work is at a very advanced stage and the statute is ready to be signed. Nevertheless, this great project is causing great doubts as to whether it is feasible. We are facing a very difficult fact that there will be no money from the West. Great Britain is abstaining, and the EEC has rejected aid. Only limited church funds remain, and I am convinced that if the plan entered into effect, the issue would be easier because first one has to check to see if it works. We are facing a very fundamental question: Is this agricultural aid, or merely a political affair? I cannot answer this question."

Let me also quote from an interview given by church adviser Andrzej Micewski to Austrian television. This interview was also quoted by DIE PRESSE.

Speaking about the agricultural aid foundation, A. Micewski recalled that the church is now waiting for a government reaction to an eventual tax and customs exemption. Next, A. Micewski "spoke out very sharply about the West's stance on this issue. He recalled that first of all, aid to the tune of DM5 billion had been mentioned, whereas now there was a shortage of the $25 million necessary to pull through the project. He also stressed that he is pessimistic over this issue, adding at the same time that the stance of the West has put the church into an unfortunate position vis-a-vis the government."

Talks on the foundation, J. Urban said, were postponed for a while because the chief representatives of the church side were on a trip to Australia, Japan, and Western European countries. Now that they are back, one can assume that the talks will resume. The fulcrum of the talks is now the Ministry of Finance, because the issue at hand is the extent of the tax and customs concessions. But the essence of the matter is not the details of these talks, but everything said by Primate Jozef Glemp and Andrzej Micewski.

Donald Forbes from REUTER asked whether there are already any results to the motions to revise the sentences passed at the Torun trial.

In reply, J. Urban said that the court is still not examining any such motions because they have not been submitted yet. The court is working on a written substantiation of the sentences. Only after it has been worked out and delivered will the defendants be able to apply for a revision. So far, such applications have only been forecast by some lawyers.

J. Urban next said that he had received a question asking for details of that part of General W. Jaruzelski's Szczecin speech dealing with the United States' ceremonious withdrawal of some restrictions, and with their practical continuation to some extent.

Presenting these issues, J. Urban said the following:

-- Scientific-technical cooperation. As a result of the restrictions applied after December 1981, this cooperation halted drastically. Joint scientific research within the framework of the M. Sklodowska-Curie Fund was suspended, and the administration refused to sign an already drafted new government agreement on scientific cooperation and on the M. Sklodowska-Curie Fund. It also refused to renew ministerial agreements which were expiring. As a result, the legal structure in this sphere ceased to exist.

On 3 August 1984, the American side announced a lifting of the ban on scientific trips within the framework of the M. Sklodowska-Curie Fund, and also announced its intention of restoring scientific exchange fully. Relating to these announcements by the U.S. Government concerning a renewal of scientific cooperation with Poland, the Polish Government said in its position of 16 August 1984 that normal cooperation in this sphere should depend on the proper shaping of a legal basis, which should be the subject of international talks on the subject of a new agreement on scientific cooperation and on the M. Sklodowska-Curie Fund.

The Polish Government's stance was accepted by the American side, which, in a note issued by the U.S. Embassy on 7 January this year, expressed interest in renewing and enhancing cooperation between scientific and technical organizations from both countries, and agreed to the start of international talks on this subject.

As the first step toward enhancing scientific and technical cooperation, the U.S. Government proposed a meeting by delegations from both countries in Washington in order to renew talks on a new agreement on the basis of the talks held in Warsaw in 1981 and on the basis of the draft agreement formulated there.

Thus, one can say that as a result of diplomatic activity, agreement was reached by both sides as to the subject, scope, and goals of the international talks on scientific cooperation. This joint and unequivocal aim to resolve issues concerning scientific cooperation was broken unilaterally by the U.S. authorities, which, taking advantage of the incident with the U.S. military attache in Poland that was provoked by them, called off on 23 February the government talks on a new scientific-technical cooperation agreement which had been scheduled for 26-28 February.

I wish to stress that the Polish side has had a very serious approach to the planned talks. Numerous preparatory talks had been held among our scientific communities on the subject of our possibilities and needs concerning individual spheres of scientific cooperation with the United States.

Diplomatic contacts preceding the talks permitted the assumption that the coming government talks would be businesslike, constructive, and advantageous to both sides. I am not hiding the fact that Polish scientific communities placed great hope in renewing scientific cooperation. As it turns out, the American authorities have once again caused a disappointment with their unjustified decision. Retaliatory measures like this illustrate the continuation of the restrictions policy.

-- Fishing Cooperation. The unilateral and arbitrary withdrawal of Polish fishing rights in December 1981 was a violation of the U.S.-PPR Government 2 August 1976 agreement on fishing along the U.S. coast. On the basis of this agreement, Poland also bought fish from American fishermen. This was a profitable transaction for both sides.

In the PPR Government note to the U.S. Government on 3 November 1983, it is said that "these partial measures, being merely superficial activity and an avoidance of the obvious need to relinquish the restrictions policy, which the U.S. Government continues to regard as an excuse for interfering in Polish domestic affairs, cannot be regarded in any way as suitable, especially in the light of the damage suffered by the Polish economy."

The PAP statement of 8 December 1983 contained the stance of the Polish authorities toward the U.S. fishing restrictions.

The PPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs note of 30 March 1984 says that the PPR Government believes that fishing cooperation should be permanent and long-term, based on appropriate legal guarantees. In this note, the Polish side also agreed to renew the fishing cooperation agreement until the end of 1985 because it was due to expire on 2 August 1984. In the aide-memoire added to the above note, it is said that as a result of the arbitrary decisions announced by the American authorities on 23 December 1981, the PPR and Polish fishing enterprises have suffered considerable losses not only because of the suspension of fishing in U.S. waters, but also because of the need to immediately transfer the fishing fleets to other waters and the resultant disruption of fish supplies to the Polish domestic market. The sudden and unilateral break of cooperation with Poland in fishing despite the bilateral agreement in force has undermined the credibility of agreements signed with the United States. Polish enterprises and the fishing industry express justified fear that they may be exposed to further losses if they undertake cooperation with the United States.

In 1984, Poland caught 70,000 metric tons of fish and purchased 22,000 metric tons compulsorily [obowiazkowo]. In accordance with an American suggestion, Poland bought a further 5,000 metric tons, which was meant to facilitate the granting of an appropriate fishing quota to Poland in 1985.

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs note of 29 January, it is said that Poland, agreeing to the renewal until 31 December 1985 of the PPR-U.S. Government 2 August 1976 agreement on fishing along the U.S. coast, accepts in good faith American assurances that fishing cooperation will be stable and long-lasting, and accepts the fish quota of 70,000 metric tons for the second half of 1984, as well as the announced possibility of increasing this quota to 100,000 metric tons. The Polish side believed and still believes that the basic guarantee of stable cooperation in this sphere is the granting of a fishing quota whose size would guarantee the profitability of Polish fishing in American waters.

At the end of December 1984, the Polish side was informed that a fishing quota of 6,931 metric tons had been approved, which was completely used up by 26 Polish fishing vessels by 10 January 1985. Since then, these vessels have been forced to refrain from fishing, which has caused costs to increase on a daily basis. This is also making it impossible to make good the financial losses and the reduced supplies of fish products to the Polish market.

In this note, the Polish side asked for the urgent granting of a further fishing quota in order to avoid the rising costs caused by the layover of fishing vessels, and also asked for a considerable increase in the 1985 quota. The Polish side also pointed out that in the light of the American assurances of stable and long-lasting fishing cooperation, the granting of such a small quota places American assurances so far under a question mark.

Because of a lack of reaction from the American side, that part of the Polish fishing fleet not involved in fish procurement from American fishermen had to be transferred to other fishing areas.

Recently, we have been informed about the granting of a further 6,200 metric tons of fish as part of the 1985 quota. This means that the American side has so far granted us only 13,000 metric tons, compared to the 70,000 metric tons granted in the second half of 1984. The American side is trying to explain the reduced 1985 quota as being due to decisions by regional fishing authorities. It is difficult to regard the granting of such a symbolic 1985 fishing quota as anything other than a desire to continue the restrictions in this sphere, despite the aim expressed by the American side in 1984 toward stable and long-lasting fishing cooperation between both countries.

-- Poland-United States air Traffic: As we know, on 28 December 1981 the U.S. Government suspended unilaterally, despite the bilateral agreement in force at that time, LOT Polish airlines rights to fly to the United States. The U.S. Government also suspended the air treaty in force since 19 July 1972, and brought about its expiration in 1982.

LOT and thousands of Polish citizens were exposed to serious material losses. In its 22 February 1982 note, the PPR Government reserved the right to investigate the losses in this sphere. An arbitration process was commenced. The U.S. Government delayed the issue. As a result, these losses have never been recompensed.

On 19 January 1984, the American side agreed to give LOT the right to operate 84 charter flights to the United States, and on 3 August the decision was announced to restore full air traffic. Nevertheless, the American side made this dependent on the signing of a new air agreement and on a withdrawal of the arbitration. The possibility of operating charter flights in 1985 was consistently rejected, unless such an agreement were signed and unless Pan Am could resume flights to Poland earlier. The Polish side made the start of talks dependent on the possibility of reaching a long-term and stable agreement, and on compensation for the losses.

Motivated by the well-conceived interests of both air carriers and by the intention of guaranteeing normal air traffic in 1985, and taking into account the growing number of passengers on the Atlantic route, both countries started negotiating an air agreement at the end of last year.

Two rounds of talks took place: on 5-7 November in Warsaw, and on 3-8 December in Washington. They resulted in the drafting of a new agreement and rules for carrying it out. They seem to be favorable to both sides. The preamble to the new agreement states that both sides "wish to reach an agreement that creates a permanent basis for performing and developing air traffic between the two countries."

Despite the great difficulties which appeared in the negotiations in January, the text of notes concerning Poland's withdrawal of the arbitration proceedings was established through diplomatic channels. The Polish side made a certain compromise here, taking the new agreement's general economic conditions into account, as well as its stability and long-term nature as expressed on paper. The Polish side assumed that the agreement would not depend on the conjunctural political interests of the United States.

Generally, air carriers were given all the necessary conditions to resume the normal flight schedule in 1985.

Accordingly, LOT and Pan Am commenced all necessary preparations, including ticket sales. LOT intended to resume charter flights and scheduled flights to the United States in March. Preparing such an operation is exceptionally costly. Unfortunately, for 2 months now the U.S. Government has given no signal concerning the signing of the agreement, which not only places the resumption of air traffic at the time stated in question, but also threatens the loss of the entire tourist season.

If the U.S. authorities continue such conduct, it will seem that their commitments lack credibility. Both carriers may suffer large losses, and thousands of passengers already with tickets will be exposed to discomfort, additional costs, or the need to give up their planned trip.

Delay in the signing of the agreement under various pretexts cannot be regarded as anything other than a desire to continue the policy of restrictions.

That is why I have spoken in such detail about the objective problems in Polish-American relations, in order to show that U.S. Government declarations about a desire to improve relations in at least one sphere are not backed by real steps, and that facts often contradict words, J. Urban said. I wish to state that we are interested in improving relations with the United States. We are constantly aiming toward this. We are operating with goodwill. General W. Jaruzelski has spoken on this subject, and also about the principles which we adhere to and whose observance could lead to an improvement in mutual relations.

Contradicting press reports are appearing on the subject of relations between Poland and the United States, J. Urban continued. For example, some publicists are saying that we will perish without credits, and at the same time that we are deliberately provoking antagonism which makes cooperation with the West difficult; in other words, that we are acting senselessly. How are we spoiling relations? It is not we who are applying restrictions, insulting other governments, ceremoniously concluding agreements, or withdrawing restrictions and then acting contrary to these decisions. We observe various movements delaying an improvement in Poland's relations with some Western states. Perhaps these delaying movements still involve assumptions that a kind of event will take place in Poland that will weaken the Polish state and create a new situation. We, too, must wait until further progress in the Polish domestic situation destroys these illusions.

In his speech, General W. Jaruzelski said that the working out of a "white book" on Polish-American relations has been recommended -- in fact the second part of this document on U.S. policy toward Poland, because the first has already appeared. Work on this document is proceeding. Its publication will depend on the development of events and on whether the "white book" will continue to have any significance. We hope, J. Urban said, that it has no further significance and that all this may apply only to the past.

SOLIDARITY'S BOGDAN LIS GOES ON HUNGER STRIKE

AU181858 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 18 (AFP) -- Bogdan Lis, former number two of the underground leadership of the banned Solidarity union, has been on hunger strike for the past week in the Gdansk detention centre where he has been held since last month, family sources said today. The hunger strike is in protest against being detained without either "indictment or verdict."

Mr. Lis was arrested on February 13 with Adam Michnik, a key member of the self-dissolved KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee) group, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a former member of the clandestine Solidarity leadership for the Wroclaw region, when police on February 13 raided a Gdansk apartment where Solidarity militants were attending a meeting with Solidarity chief Lech Walesa. Mr. Walesa was subsequently twice interrogated and ordered not to leave Gdansk without official permission.

'ABRIDGED' VERSION OF SEJM RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

LD151204 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 15 Mar 85

["Sejm Resolution on Current Problems of Polish Foreign Policy and International Situation (Abridged)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, March 14 -- Poland's foreign policy which sees its supreme goal in strengthening the sovereign existence of the state and in ensuring security and best possible conditions of development for the nation, substantially contributes to peaceful international cooperation.

Poland's acts for the strengthening and cohesion of the socialist system of collective security that decides upon the lasting character of peace on our continent. The Sejm approves government's activities aimed, alongside the Soviet Union and the remaining allies, at the prolongation of the validity of the Warsaw Treaty. This is the basic condition for the strengthening and stability of a peaceful order shaped in Europe after the Second World War.

Poland comes out for peaceful and partner-like cooperation of all states of our continent on the grounds of the ten principles of the CSCE Final Act, irrespective of differences in their political systems. The Sejm greets with satisfaction a return to the trend of detente in the policy of some West European states.

The Sejm stresses great significance of the Soviet-U.S. disarmament negotiations starting in Geneva. It is the duty of all the states to provide a propitious climate and act for the cause of agreement which would terminate the ominous nuclear arms race. The fact of transfering the arms race into outer space, contrary to earlier agreements, leads to a profound destablization of international relations.

The Sejm shares both concern and anxiety with all those in the world, who see in the U.S. strive to exclude from the Geneva negotiations space weapons research and experiments not only a threat to constructive results of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue but also a threat of a fundamental violation of the hiterto alignment of forces and the principles on which rests the security of contemporary world.

The Sejm extends support for the stand of Polish negotiators who constructively contribute to the debates of the Stockholm conference, the Vienna talks and to works in the U.N. Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

The Sejm expresses its recognition for the growing importance attached in Poland's foreign policy to cooperation with developing countries. The Sejm gives full support to the government strivings to increase Poland's role in the international arena.

The U.S. aggressive strategy, pursued under the motto of global anti-communism, interferes in Poland's international affairs and strives to attain her internal instability and as a result to undermine our socialist system. The state and society pay the price of it.

The U.S. and some of its allies make efforts to undermine the system shaped as a result of World War II that is the basis of the borders existing in Europe and solving the German question. The coming observances of the 40th anniversary of victory over the Third Reich should also be an answer to all those in the U.S., the FRG and elsewhere who question the present structures of European peace, already tested over the four decades.

The Sejm adheres to the stand that Polish foreign services should step up their actions serving to solve Poland's social and economic problems.

International contacts of the Sejm have been developing on a broad scale. The exchange of the deputies' delegations the Sejm Presidium and current dialogue carried by the Polish parliament with many world parliaments effectively support objectives pursued by the Polish foreign policy.

The deputies' discussion on the government report on current problems of the Polish foreign policy showed that Polish society came out for further activization of this policy so that it could express Poland's presence and her stand on all the most important questions of the contemporary world and Europe in particular.

To the same extent as its great contribution to victory over Nazism, Poland also wishes to be present at everything that consolidates peace and security of the international community and shapes the world's peaceful future.

POLITBURO OUTLINES PZPR NEWSPAPERS' TASKS

AU181639 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- On 12 March there was a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. The Politburo received with profound regret the news of the death of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and honored his memory. Comrade Konstantin Chernenko devoted the whole of his life to the implementation of the ideals of the Leninist party and to communist construction in the USSR. Comrade Konstantin Chernenko made an important contribution to the defense of peace in the world, preventing nuclear war, and improving the international climate.

The Poliburo highlighted with respect Comrade Konstantin Chernenko's services in consolidating the fraternal relations between our parties and peoples and between the PPR and USSR, as well as in developing cooperation and consolidating the unity of the socialist community.

Examining the activity of PZPR Central Committee press organs, the Politburo stated that both TRYBUNA LUDU -- a high-circulation party daily, and NOWE DROGI -- the theoretical and political monthly, are fulfilling the tasks set by the party's ninth congress.

With all their information, publicizing, and organizational activity, TRYBUNA LUDU and NOWE DROGI should serve to consolidate the ideological unity and organizational cohesion of party ranks, and rebuild and strengthen the party's ties with the workers class and society. Both journals should raise the party's prestige; display its consistency in achieving national accord and in the struggle against antisocialist forces, propaganda aggression, and economic discrimination; and express the party's unchanging goal to perpetuate the principles of socialist renewal, social justice, people's authority, and the rule of law. The activity of TRUBUNA LUDU and NOWE DROGI should encourage the state's consolidation and its internal stability and defensive ability.

Facing the important task of propagating Marxism-Leninism among party members and nonparty people, the TRYBUNA LUDU team must see to it that its articles can be easily read by readers in general, and that party training is improved, especially in primary party bodies.

With its activity, TRYBUNA LUDU must rally supporters for the party program, especially young people, during the continuing struggle for the hearts and minds of the nation. The paper must firmly pave the way for socialist renewal; combat everything that halts and delays progress; and oppose all evil, passiveness, incompetence, and arrogance. The paper's columns must be open to criticism.

TRYBUNA LUDU has an important role to play in disseminating the values of socialist culture and the party and state's cultural policy. The paper's policy of reviews should be perfected.

The Politburo makes of the TRYBUNA LUDU team the highest political, ideological, and professional demands. It is committing the paper to constantly improve its journalistic work and its methods of reporting and editorials; to increase direct ties with working people, especially the workers class in large production enterprises; and to command high quality in the performance of the paper's propaganda and organizational functions.

An essential task is to encourage dialogue with the readers, who should be the paper's joint creators. It is useful to set up a network of worker correspondents and develop TRYBUNA LUDU debating clubs.

Defining the tasks for the NOWE DROGI team, the Politburo stressed the need to make the monthly the party aktivs' basic source of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, in strict connection with the practical implementation of the party line in the ideological, political, and economic spheres. NOWE DROGI should attract the most eminent representatives of Marxist social sciences. The monthly should become an important center of the development of Marxist-Leninist thought in our party.

Performing an important role in disseminating Polish foreign policy and consolidating the fraternal ties with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, TRYBUNA LUDU and NOWE DROGI should particularly concentrate on publicizing their experience in socialist construction. Their duty is to report regularly on the development problems and daily life of working people in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and encourage Poland's economic and cultural integration with the socialist community. They should spread knowledge about the activity of the international communist and workers movement and about the progressive processes in the world, and at the same time reveal the essence of modern imperialism and its militaristic and reactionary politics.

The Politburo commits party cells to render the TRYBUNA LUDU and NOWE DROGI teams comprehensive assistance in the performance of their tasks.

U.S. 'BRUTAL ATTACK 'ON HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD

AU181719 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 85 p 7

[PAP Geneva report: "Brutal Attack by U.S. Delegate on Poland"]

[Text] At the UN Human Rights Commission session in the Geneva Palace of Nations, Richard Schifter, the U.S. representative, made an unprecedented attack on the work of the commission and on Poland.

He criticized both the fact that no report on the situation in Poland has been submitted to the commission this year, as well as the quality of the earlier report on the situation in our country presented to the commission by the UN secretary general last year. As we know, last year the commission, having acquainted itself with Poland's stance, rejected a NATO resolution calling for the continuation of the so-called Polish issue on the commission's agenda, even though the United States and some of its allies had wanted this very much. However, Ambassador Schifter has found it appropriate to involve himself in assessing the situation in Poland. According to his report, no normalization has occurred in our country. He repeated the pattern of attacks on Poland made by some propaganda centers and newspapers in the West which speak about an alleged reign of terror in Poland. In this context he spoke of the killing of Father Popieluszko.

In reply to the U.S. delegate's attack on our country, Henryk Sokalski, Poland's representative, recalled that since the start of the present session of the commission, the PPR delegation has not given the U.S. delegation the slighest reason to once again present its biased and, at the same time, two-faced stance toward Poland. On the contrary, we have expected that the current session of this important UN body may serve to create a climate conducive to the normalization of Polish-American relations. However, the U.S. delegate's speech shows that the United States is still not ready to remove the obstacles which it itself has set up on the path to normalizing our mutual relations. As this is the case, one should speak about the reasons behind this state of affairs with full honesty and openness.

Next, the Polish representative presented the political conditions behind the United States' anti-Polish attitude in recent years. He said that the American delegate's handling of Father Popieluszko's death in a context which insults his memory deserves to be most highly deplored. Every honest person knows very well that Father Popieulszko fell victim to the same kind of intolerance that characterizes the U.S. representative's anti-Polish speech.

Against the background of the American approach toward human rights, H. Sokalski undermined the credibility of U.S. partnership in international cooperation in this sphere. For, as we know, the 1954 Dulles doctrine was designed to deprive this country of access to the signing of international treaties on human rights. The effect of this is that the United States is not a party to over 300 important agreements. This means that while usurping the right to pass sentences and teach others, the United States itself remains practically outside any international control. The commission received the Polish representative's speech with complete understanding, and it encountered the support of most of the delegations.

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS TO PILA ACTIVISTS, VETERANS

LD172306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Mar 85

[Excerpts] On the 40th anniversary of victorious battles to break through the Wal Pomorski [Pomeranian line], patriotic rallies took place in several localities in the Pila region. During a meeting with artists, cultural activists, and war veterans, Wojciech rose to speak. The premier recalled that the national accord was strongly manifested by liberation battles of the Polish People's Army. It found its expression in the fact that soldiers of various descents stood behind the same banner serving their homeland. A condition of implementing this testament of generations, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized, was and remains the alliance with the Soviet Union, because only in this alliance can we keep the Odra-Nysa border for socialist Poland.

General Jaruzelski also visited battlefields at Borunsk, and in the evening visited the open-air training ground of the Pomeranian Military District where units of the 12th Mechanized Division named after Armia Ludowa have been stationed for several weeks.

BARCIKOWSKI ADDRESSES MEETING ON INTELLIGENTSIA

LD161251 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 16 Mar 85

[Text] We, through a discussion that is honest, many-sided and which does not shirk difficult issues, want to win over to our arguments that portion of the intelligentsia which still finds it hard to accept the directions and conditions of Poland's development, the methods employed in emerging from the crisis. We particularly wish to attract the most valuable people -- the courageous, and, in a word, the wise. The interests of Poland, as they are best understood, call for joint action, for the utilization of all capacities, especially those of the intelligentsia.

These were the words used by Kazmierz Barcikowski during a meeting at the Krakow "kuznica" [local PZPR party members club]. The meeting was held at the initiative of social and cultural activists, academics and journalists in connection with the forthcoming 19th Party Central Committee Plenum on the subject of the Polish intelligentsia.

TARNOW PARTY CONFERENCE ASSESSES ACTIVITIES

LD161256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Mar 85

[Text] A party voivodship accountability conference opened at 0900 today in Tarnow. The Tarnow Party organization, which numbers 23,500 members, is represented by 242 delegates, who are assessing its activities during the first half of its term of office. The report was delivered by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Tarnow Party Voivodship Committee. He assessed the state of the party organizations in Tarnow, especially the basic cells, namely those that exert a decisive influence on cadre policy. It is the ambition of the Tarnow organization that every basic organization accept at least one candidate member by the end of the term of office. Stanislaw Opalko devoted a good deal of attention to the current international situation, as well as to issues in ideological training and the economy, trade and culture in Tarnow Voivodship. After the report, a discussion began.

Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing; and Stanislaw Gebala, minister of labor, wages and social affairs are taking part in the conference.

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION HELD 17 MARCH

Ceausescu Election Speech

AU181310 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Mar 85 pp 1-3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a civic electoral meeting in Bucharest on 15 March]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends: It gives me great pleasure to meet with you, the representatives of the working people of the 23 August constituency and of Bucharest on the occasion of the election of deputies of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] and the people's councils. From the high rostrum of this large mass rally I want to extend warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes to you, to all the working people in Bucharest, and to all our people, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, and on my own behalf.

Through the free vote cast by all our people on 17 March, the new deputies will be elected to the greatest democratic legislative forum of our country and to the country, municipal, town, and communal people's councils whose great mission it is to ensure in the next 5 years the resolute implementation of the 13th party congress decisions and the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

The vote for the candidates of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] will be a vote for resolutely implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party aimed at the socioeconomic development of our socialist homeland, at ensuring the well-being and happiness of all our people, and at strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

The electoral platform of the SDUF in these elections is based on the historic decisions of the 13th party congress and on Romania's socioeconomic development plans in 1986-90 and beyond, until the year 2000. The overall electoral campaign and the meetings between candidates and voters were an occasion for broad democratic public discussions of this great program and of all problems concerning the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our party and state. One can say that all meetings and get-togethers that have taken place have been characterized by a great spirit of responsibility toward the interests of the homeland and the people and toward the cause of socialism and have forcefully stressed the firm determination by the candidates and voters and by all working people to act with great determination to resolutely implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the programs of elevating our homeland to greater heights of progress and civilization.

In the spirit of workers revolutionary democracy, the meetings and get-togethers that have taken place during the election campaign made numerous proposals regarding the improvement of the activity carried out by party and state bodies, socioeconomic activity, and ensuring the resolute implementation of the country's development plans. At the same time, a number of justified criticisms were made in connection with certain shortcomings and failings that still persist in various areas. The party and state bodies, the GNA that will be elected, and the people's councils must thoroughly examine all these and plan the necessary measures to eliminate those shortcomings, as soon as possible and to improve the overall activity and increase the spirit of responsibility and revolutionary militancy in all areas.

We can state that the election campaign for the 17 March elections has been an opportunity for extensive democratic and exacting discussions with all our people about the basic problems of developing the Romanian society in the new stage, and it has been a forceful expression of the profound workers revolutionary democracy on which is based our socialist system that ensures all necessary conditions for the direct and active

participation by the broad working people's masses and by all our people in drafting and implementing the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our party and state, in leading all sectors of activity and the overall society, and in consciously fashioning their own free and happy future and building the society without any classes -- the communist society.

Dear comrades and friends, during the 5 years that have elapsed since our last elections, our people have registered new and important progress on the road of the homeland's socioeconomic development and in improving the material and cultural living standard of all our people. Important successes have been registered in implementing the Seventh 5-Year Plan that has been the basis of the electoral platform of the SDUF for 1981-85. On the basis of the heroic work performed by the workers class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and by all our people, under our glorious Communist Party's leadership, a number of difficulties have been overcome that were determined both by the world economic crisis, which has actually affected all countries, and by certain contradictions that have manifested themselves in our society. Thus we were able to achieve noteworthy results in implementing the goals set forth by the 12th party congress and by the national conference in 1982 and to ensure a vigorous development of the forces of production, an improvement in social relations in the second stage of implementing the party program, and our homeland's elevation to new heights of well-being and progress.

On the basis of achievements registered during the 4 years of the 5-year plan and the provisions of the 1985 plan, one can state that the country's industrial production will increase in the 1981-85 5-Year Plan at an annual rate of some 6 percent. Important successes have also been registered in the other areas, in the flourishing of science, culture, and education -- basic factors in building the new social system.

In agriculture we have registered an important increase in yields and in 1984, although weather conditions were not the most favorable, the largest grain yields ever known in our country's history were achieved and thus we were able to registere more than 1 ton of grain per capita. On the basis of results achieved in developing industry and agriculture, of increasing the national revenue and the national wealth, an important investment program of some 1.2 billion lei was carried out. This ensured the modernization and development of the forces of production and the initiation of some 1,800 new production capacities. In this period we were able to complete and put into operation the Danube-Black Sea Canal; thus, we opened up a new waterway from the Danube to the Black Sea.

This demonstrates the potential of our national economy and the creative energy of the builders of socialism in Romania. Through resolutely implementing the policy of developing all counties and areas in our country and through the rational distribution of the new socioeconomic projects it has been ensured that each county will achieve a per capita output of at least 70,000 lei. Romania's economic relations with other countries -- especially socialist -- have developed forcefully. In 1985 the foreign trade volume is 28 times larger than in 1980. Acting with great determination to develop international economic relations, we planned to ensure an active balance of trade, a fact that has permitted us to cut back our country's foreign debts by almost 40 percent.

As a result of the development of the production forces, the social products this year will be 25 times higher than in 1980, while the volume of fixed assets will rise to more than 2.8 billion lei. In the current 5-year plan, we have registered important successes in increasing the national income, namely an annual rate of some 7 percent. On the basis of the constant increase in national income and the country's production forces, we have ensured the implementation of the program to improve the people's living standard and the level of civilization and well-being of the entire country.

Following increases carried out in the current 5-year plan, real pay for all working people was 6 percent higher last year than in 1980 and this year it will be 8 percent higher. Pensions were also increased by an average, 6 percent. The funds allocated from the state budget for social expenditures have also increased. Measures have been taken to ensure the preservation of the index of the marketing price of consumer goods in keeping with plan provisions. In conformity with the higher incomes of the working people, the volume of goods sold to the people has increased by 7 percent. In the 1981-85 period, 750,000 new apartments will be built, a fact that will improve housing conditions -- an important factor for improving the people's general well-being.

In the last 5-year plan the GNA adopted a number of laws and normative acts regarding strengthening our state system, perfecting the management and planning of overall activity, and constantly developing the workers revolutionary democracy. This is why now at the end of a 5-year activity and on the eve of the elections for the deputies to the GNA and the people's councils for the next 5 years, one can state that the pledges made during the last elections in the electoral platform have been fulfilled successfully. Our homeland has traveled an important stage on the road to its socio-economic progress, its elevation to a new level of development, to improving the people's material and cultural standard of living, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Dear comrades and friends, the working people in Bucharest have made a very important contribution to all these great achievements registered in the current 5-year plan. Bucharest municipality achieves some 14 percent of the country's industrial production. In the past 20 years Bucharest industry increased over 5 times. Important increases were registered especially in the machine-building industry, and the chemical, light, and other industries. I would like to make special mention of the noteworthy progress made in increasing the technical and qualitative level of products, in applying new modern technologies, in increasing labor productivity, and in reducing material consumption and the forces of production, and in generally increasing economic efficiency.

We have achieved noteworthy successes in all areas, in Bucharest and throughout the country, of the country's socioeconomic development. Despite all this, we must frankly say that a number of shortcomings and failings continued to persist, as did a number of lags in certain important areas. In particular, an important contradiction between the general level of development of the forces of production and a certain lag in developing electrical power continues to exist.

Although we have available large capacities that amount to 17,000 MW of installed power, owing to serious shortcomings that exist in certain electrical power plants and in the mining industry, they do not yield the production they could achieve. This is compounded by the difficult situation created by last year's drought and by this winter's cold which have reduced water in reservoirs and therefore the energy from hydropower plants.

Despite all this, I must state that if the electrical power we produced in December, January, and February had been used more rationally and with greater responsibility, it could have ensured much better conditions for the overall production process, including meeting the general requirements of our society. I am stressing this because it is necessary for us to draw conclusions from these negative situations. As a matter of fact, in the past weeks we adopted a number of measures that already have been published and are well known.

In the coming months we must ensure the fulfillment of production and this year's plans under the most favorable conditions, thus ensuring the resolute implementation of the 1981-85 5-Year Plan and the setting of a lasting basis for the Eighth 5-Year Plan -- the 1986-90 period. We have everything necessary available -- throughout the country

and in Bucharest as well -- to ensure the elimination of certain negative states of affairs and the resolute implementation of the country's general economic development plans.

The noteworthy successes registered by Romania in the years of building the new system clearly demonstrate the superiority of socialism, the force and potential of people who are masters of their destiny and who are consciously shaping their own free and happy future. All these achievements clearly demonstrate the correctness of our Communist Party's policy -- the political leading force of all our nation that is being guided in its activity by the scientific, materialist, dialectical, and historic concept, and by the great teachings of scientific socialism, creatively applying the generally valid truths to the concrete conditions in Romania.

All this is the fruit of the creative and dedicated work performed by the workers class -- the leading class of Romanian socialist society -- by the peasantry, the intellectuals, and by all our people who, in complete unity within the SDUF and under party leadership, are resolutely implementing the bright program of building the comprehensively developed socialist system and Romania's advance toward communism, of strengthening national independence and sovereignty, and of constantly improving the well-being and happiness of all our nation.

For all these excellent achievements -- from the rostrum of this big mass rally -- I want to extend warmest congratulations to all working people in Bucharest and to all our people, as well as wishes for new and greater successes and satisfaction in their overall activity aimed at the progress and flourishing of our homeland, Socialist Romania.

Dear comrades and friends, the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the directives for Romania's socioeconomic development in the next 5-year plan and until the year 2000, which are also the electoral platform of the SDUF, mark the transition of our homeland to the third stage of implementing the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist system and Romania's advance toward communism. The fulfillment of the strategic goal of this stage presupposes the development at a higher level of the forces of production, further perfecting social relations, and the achievement of an optimal concordance between the various sectors, between the forces of production and social relations, an increase in the quality of labor and the living standard, and in all socioeconomic areas. In the next 5-year plan and until the year 2000, our people must focus on consolidating all achievements registered thus far, strengthening Romania's position as a medium-developed country and its transition to a new and superior stage of its socioeconomic development.

As I stressed at the party congress, in the year 2000 Romania will be a comprehensively developed socialist country, from the point of view of industry, agriculture, education, science, and culture and from the point of view of the general standard of living and civilization of our people. One can justifiably state that Romania will thus conclude an entire epoch of revolutionary development, that it will proceed to a new revolutionary stage, to the increased assertion in our society of the communist principle of remuneration, work, and life.

In the Eighth 5-Year Plan period we will give priority to the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other sectors of activity. In keeping with the provisions of the new 5-year plan, we will pay particular attention to a more powerful development of the energy and raw material basis, as a decisive condition for ensuring the overall progress of all branches of the national economy and of social life. The measures established regarding the development of new electric coal-based power plants and new hydropower plants, the putting into production and achieving a capacity of at least 5000 MW in the nuclear power plants will create the necessary conditions to optimally

satisfy the energy supply needed in all sectors of activity. Particular attention will be paid to reducing energy and raw material consumption, and material consumption in general, and to recovering and reutilizing energy sources, materials, spares, and subassemblies, which must ensure an important part -- in some fields more than 50 percent -- of the technical and material supply of production.

Starting with the strong technical, material basis, the experience gained in organizing labor and work and from the high-quality training level of the cadres in all sectors of activity during the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan period, the industrial goods production will increase by an average annual rate of 6-6.5 percent and net production by 10-10.6 percent. Within this framework, a more powerful development will be registered in the machine-building industry, particularly in electronics, chemistry, and other branches of major importance for the technical progress of all our economy. At the same time we must ensure a more powerful increase of labor productivity, which has to grow by at least 60 percent during the next 5-year plan period. On the basis of better production and labor organization by introducing automation, cybernetics, and robots in the production process, giving priority to the heavy industry sectors, we must take decisive measures to increase continuously the quality and technical level of production, to make Romanian products competitive and comparable with the best similar products manufactured at world level.

We must act most resolutely to further cut back on production-material consumption and ensure a strong development of economic efficiency, profitability, and benefits in all sectors of activity. We must most resolutely start from the need to have all socio-economic units operate on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration and have them obtain maximum benefits in all their activity. This is an objective requirement for further ensuring our fatherland's development and elevating our people's general well-being. Within this framework I would like to refer to the necessity of raising all industrial activity in our fatherland's capital city to the level of the requirements put forward by the RCP Congress. As I mentioned at the RCP conference, the industrial output of Bucharest municipality will have to reach 280-300 billion lei by 1990, increasing by an average annual rate of about 10 percent more than the average growing rate per county.

We must do this, taking into consideration the fact that in Bucharest there is great industrial potential with a high technological level that does not work according to the level of project provisions. I would like to mention particularly the need to place greater attention on technical matters and on increasing the quality of products, taking into consideration the fact that almost all research institutes, a powerful team of engineers and experts, and a powerful team of workers with high training and revolutionary tradition are in Bucharest.

Recently I visited a number of enterprises and I learned with great satisfaction of several important achievements and at the same time of some shortcomings. Despite the fact that we are on the eve of the elections, during my discussions during the visit I seriously criticized the working people's collectives, particularly the management of these enterprises, starting from the need to have them act in a more revolutionary spirit and starting from the fact that the 17th March elections must determine a change of style and manner of work in all the fields of activity.

I am referring particularly to the fact that some measures we discussed during our previous visits are still implemented at too slow a rate. It is necessary that both in Bucharest and throughout the country, in all our units, workers act with more exactingness and in a more revolutionary spirit, taking firmer actions to recover shortcomings and lags. Still, this year we must do everything to fully implement the measures of improving and elevating the qualitative level of products.

In the industry, and I repeat this, in the industry of our capital city we have a powerful technical force, a powerful workers team with high-level training, and a powerful party organization, and thus we have everything necessary -- starting from the fact that man is the decisive force in achieving all our programs -- to unflinchingly implement the plan provisions for this year and for the new 5-year plan period, and to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress.

Dear comrades and friends, in the field of agriculture we will give priority to the intensive development and modernization of this basic branch of our national economy. Prior to the year 1990 grain production must reach 30-32 million metric tons. We will strongly develop animal breeding, wine-growing, fruit growing, vegetable growing, and the other sectors of activity. The new agrarian revolution will have to ensure the strong development of the technical-material base and increasingly bigger crops by promoting and applying the latest scientific and agricultural technical knowledge and by working out a revolutionary work style that will determine strong efficiency and responsibility and a profound change in the way of thinking, working, and living of peasants and of all working people of agriculture.

Particular attention will be attached to a more rational and efficient utilization of all land surface, the major means of production. During the next 5-year plan, great irrigation work will be carried out in order to achieve 5-5.5 million hectares of irrigated land by 1990. At the same time, important drainage and soil erosion work will be carried out over large areas, thus contributing to the increase of soil fertility and, on this basis, to increasing agricultural production, which will fully satisfy the consumption needs of both the people and industry, as well as other requirements of our national economy. With a view to implementing the objectives of socioeconomic development of our country, during the next 5-year plan we will carry out a great program of investment of about 1,350-1,400 billion lei, of which 190 billion lei will be in agriculture. This will mostly be directed toward expanding the energy and raw material base and implementing the program of intensively developing, modernizing, and raising the technical level of industry, as well as the program of irrigation and land improvement. The people's national wealth will increase during the next 5-year plan with 1,500 new production capacities. The Poarta Alba-Midia-Navodari Canal will be opened and the major part of the Bucharest-Danube Canal will be finished.

In keeping with the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, we will continue the rational division of production forces on all the territory of our country. On this basis we will ensure an economic activity per capita of at least 80,000 lei in every county, and in 29 counties of more than 100,000 lei. Regarding the capital city, economic activity per capita will be at least 155,000 lei by 1990.

On this basis we will increase the socioeconomic and civilization level of all our countries, and we will ensure equal working and living conditions for all the citizens of our country. In achieving the strategic objectives, in fulfilling the socioeconomic development program in the next 5-year plan period until the year 2000, a significant role is incumbent on scientific research activity, which will have to more actively participate in modernizing and developing all sectors of activity, in elevating technical and qualitative levels, and in increasing the role of science in the overall development of our fatherland. We will also act to further improve education with a view to ensuring that the necessary cadres in all sectors of activity have a high level of technical and professional knowledge. We will stress the activity of improving and raising the level of professional and technical knowledge, an essential condition to ensure the overall progress of our fatherland. We will further strengthen the cooperation between science, education, and production, a decisive factor in the successful implementation of all programs of ensuring Socialist Romania's flourishing. At the same time we will increase the political and educational activity of fashioning the new man, the conscious builder of his own future. We will base all our activity

on the materialist, dialectical, and historical concept and the latest scientific knowledge. The political and educational activity will have to develop the people's revolutionary spirit, the responsibility for the cause of socialism and communism in our fatherland, and will have to cultivate in the awareness of working people the noble feelings of patriotism, love for party, and people, and the determination to do everything to defend and develop the revolutionary achievements of our fatherland.

At the same time political, ideological activity will have to resolutely fight backward and retrograde attitudes and any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-Semitism, which are mentalities of the old bourgeois, landlord-owner society, of a society based on exploitation and oppression. All our political and educational activity will have to consistently strengthen the unity and fraternity of all working people in their work and struggle for progress and the flourishing of our socialist fatherland. It will develop -- in all our people -- the spirit of solidarity, friendship, and cooperation with the other nations, and the peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Dear comrades and friends, by the vigorous development of the forces of production, industry, agriculture, and the other branches, and by increasing the national wealth and the national income, we will do all we can to constantly improve the material and cultural standard of living of our people -- the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania.

In the 1986-90 5-Year Plan we will pay special attention to implementing the program of town and village planning, thus ensuring a reduction in areas for building purposes so as to make better use of land and to better meet urban, educational, medical, cultural, and trade requirements of towns and villages in our homeland.

In the next 5-year plan a further 750,000 apartments will be built. This will ensure that the housing problems will be solved, generally speaking, and that an average of 12 square meters of housing area will be secured per capita. All these are factors of particular importance for improving the level of civilization and well-being of all working people and will ensure increasingly better work and living conditions for all our people in keeping with the epoch of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building on Romanian soil.

Thus, extensive street and transportation planning projects will be carried out in Bucharest so that by 1990 all these projects for modernizing our homeland's capital city will be completed. The construction of the new political-administrative center will be completed, including the House of the Republic, the national library, and a number of state institutions, new residential quarters, and monumental architecture on the Victory of Socialism Avenue and other streets in that area.

Some further 150,000 apartments will be built; a new section of the subway will be put into operation so that almost 60 kilometers will be completed. One can state with justified pride that through the extensive projects to be built in the current 5-year plan, our homeland's capital city -- as in fact all towns and villages in our homeland -- will gain new scope and will turn into a modern city that will be the pride of all our people, a grand achievement of the party program of elevating the homeland to higher and higher levels of civilization and progress.

Dear comrades and friends, implementation of the 13th party congress decision requires that we improve and perfect leadership and planning activity and increase the role of the state in all areas, together with the more vigorous development of socialist democracy and of the new bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy. We will constantly proceed from the fact that it is necessary to ensure close cooperation

between the state bodies and the new democratic bodies so that the people's masses are able to participate, to a greater extent, in the adoption and implementation of all decisions on the homeland's development and the domestic and foreign policy promoted by Romania.

We will pay special attention to constantly strengthening the socialist state and cooperative ownership -- the decisive basis for the overall development of our homeland. We must take determined action to consistently apply the new economic-financial mechanism, to strengthen self-management and self-administration in all units, and to resolutely apply the socialist principle of remuneration. We proceed from the fact that no one can receive pay without working; no one should live at the expense of others; the incomes of all working people in our homeland must be directly linked to their work, to their productive activity, and to their contribution to the general development of our country.

We resolutely apply the principle: no bread without work, but, also, no work without bread. Let us see to it that on the basis of the activity carried out and on the basis of increasing production and economic efficiency, the incomes of all categories of working people will constantly increase in keeping with the work performed. It is necessary -- I want to stress this again -- to constantly defend socialist ownership, the ownership of all our people, because the building of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the constant improvement of the people's well-being, strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty, and ensuring its dignified place among the ranks of the free nations in the world depend on this.

We will pay special attention to further strengthening our Armed Forces, to improving their political training and combat readiness, to strengthening our homeland's defense capability against any attempts to attack our national freedom and independence, and the revolutionary achievements of our people.

At the same time, we will strengthen cooperation with the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries and with other friendly armed forces, and will constantly act to achieve a policy of peace and international cooperation.

In future activity we will do all we can to perfect the activity of the Interior Ministry bodies, of the militia and security, of the prosecutor's office, and of the justice bodies in order to defend public wealth and personal property and to ensure order at home, the life and calm of all citizens in our homeland, and the great revolutionary achievements. We will constantly be aware that no one should go unpunished if he harms the interests of our people and homeland; at the same time we will ensure that no one will be punished unjustly. We will ensure strict observance of socialist law, the constant strengthening of links between the state bodies and people, and close cooperation between them by proceeding from the fact that the people are the real builders of socialism and that all state bodies must constantly be under the control and guidance of the broad people's masses. In actual fact, this is one of the basic aspects of the workers revolutionary democracy and of developing the new revolutionary humanism in which man is at the center of the overall activity.

Everything that is being achieved in Romania is achieved with the people and for the people. We will do all we can to have our people ensure a dignified place for themselves, so that they are complete masters in their own country and are able to fashion their future according to their wishes.

We will take very determined action to constantly strengthen the party's leading role in all fields of activity, this being the guarantee for implementing the programs of our homeland's development.

In this spirit, the party and state bodies, the people's councils, trade unions, youth bodies, women's organizations, and all mass and civic organizations must act with great determination to optimally fulfill the role they play in our socialist society and in the workers revolutionary democracy; they must do all they can to unite the efforts of all our people within the SDUF -- a guarantee for our firm progress on the road to socialism and communism and for well-being and happiness.

In particular, we have to pay greater attention to improving and perfecting the activity carried out by people's councils which, within the framework of the workers revolutionary democracy, have attributed great responsibility in organizing and leading the socioeconomic activity in countries, towns, and communes in our homeland, in the socioeconomic development, and in ensuring the best possible conditions for the life and work of all our people. The people's councils must constantly bear in mind the fact that they have the mission to do all they can to unite the efforts of all people in the proper management and development of each locality as a strong socioeconomic unit in which people are able to enjoy all the achievements of socialist civilization and construction.

An expression of our workers revolutionary democracy is also the fact that in the election of deputies to the GNA and people's councils people have been proposed who, through their overall professional, political, moral, and civic activity, represent a guarantee that they will do all they can to optimally serve the people, our homeland's interests, and the interests of socialism.

The candidates include members of the party-state leadership, leading representatives of the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, party and state activists, mass and civic representatives, leadership cadres from the economy, members of the SDUF, and other categories of citizens, men and women, young and old, who, through the activity carried out thus far, have proved that they fully deserve the people's trust.

As is known, these elections have opened the democratic practice of proposing more than one candidate for the seat of one deputy. Thus, in the election of deputies to the GNA two or three candidates were proposed for more than 50 percent of the SDUF deputies. As for the people's councils, two or three candidates were proposed for some 80 percent of the deputies. Thus, conditions are created for competition between the candidates, namely, to optimally fulfill their tasks toward the working people, which ensures for the citizens the possibility of electing from among these candidates the ones they believe will optimally fulfill the tasks assumed.

The system of several candidates creates better conditions for electing the best activists in all areas as deputies to the GNA and people's councils, people who represent a guarantee that they will do all they can to resolutely implement the 13th party congress decisions and to serve the people, the cause of socialism and communism, and the policy of peace promoted by our homeland.

Now, on the eve of the election, we can justifiably state that the SDUF electoral platform, which all our people are called upon to endorse through their 17 March vote, represents an excellent program for our homeland's development until 1990 and beyond, until the year 2000, aimed at Romania's constant elevation to new heights of progress and civilization. The 17 March vote must be a powerful assertion of the unity of all our people, within the framework of the SDUF under RCP leadership, and of the determination to do all they can to ensure the triumph of socialism and communism and to strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Dear comrades and friends, in the time that has elapsed since the elections 5 years ago, the SR of Romania has carried out an extensive international activity of expanding and strengthening relations of friendship with other countries and has struggled

actively for disarmament and peace, to resolve the complex problems in the international arena in the interests of all peoples. Due to this policy, Romania has won new friends in all parts of the world, it enjoys well-deserved esteem and respect among the ranks of world peoples.

We have acted, and will continue to do all we can, to vigorously develop our relations with all socialist countries and primarily with our neighbors. In this context I would like to stress, once again, our determination to do all we can to constantly develop relations with the USSR. We believe that strengthening solidarity and the unity of socialist countries is an important factor in the current international situation for the assertion of the prestige of socialism and for disarmament, peace, and socioeconomic progress.

We continue to act firmly to strengthen cooperation with the developing countries, the nonaligned countries, and with the small- and medium-sized countries in the belief that this is an important factor in the struggle for disarmament and peace. At the same time, we will continue to expand relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all countries in the world, irrespective of social system. We will participate actively in the international division of labor and the exchange of material and cultural assets, this being an active factor for the progress of each nation and for peace and international cooperation.

All our country's relations with other countries will be unswervingly placed -- as has been the case so far -- on the principle of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force. We advocate the resolute observance of each people's right to free socioeconomic development as they desire and without any outside interference.

At the 13th party congress and at the Third SDUF Congress I stressed the causes that lead to particularly serious tension in the international situation. It can be stated that never since the end of World War II has mankind faced such dangers, which could lead to a new world war that would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe. The imperialist policy of force and threat of force continues to manifest itself in the world, as does the policy of consolidating and redividing the spheres of influence, and of brutal interference in the affairs of other countries. The world economic crisis has accentuated instability at a world level and has led to an unprecedented worsening of the economic situation in the developing countries and to increasing the gap between rich and poor countries.

Contradictions between various countries and groups of states have intensified. New contradictions have emerged. Contradictions between rich and poor countries have gained broad scope. The arms race has intensified as never before, especially the nuclear arms race, and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe has increased, which could lead to the disappearance of the achievements of our civilization and of the very conditions for the existence of life on our planet.

A very dangerous situation has been created in Europe as a result of the deployment of the U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles and the Soviet nuclear countermeasures. Proceeding from all this, and primarily from the fact that tremendous amounts of nuclear weapons are stockpiled in the world that could destroy all of our planet several times over, we believe that the basic problem of our time is halting the arms race and especially the nuclear arms race, proceeding to disarmament and to elimination of the danger of a new world war, and the ensurance of peace in the world.

It is more necessary than ever to do everything to unite the efforts by all peoples, and all progressive and realistic forces to change the current trend of world events and to firmly promote the policy of detente, disarmament, cooperation, and peace. At the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985 certain rays of hope emerged. However, we must state that the dark clouds of a nuclear war continue to exist. The possibility has appeared of achieving certain understandings in connection with changing the dangerous trend of the current international situation. The meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the United States in January and the beginning of the 12 March negotiations between the delegations of the two countries in Geneva, mark an important moment in the current international circumstances. The agreement to discuss in Geneva the problem of nuclear weapons and the problem of halting the militarization of outer space was welcomed by the Romanian people and by other peoples in Europe and throughout the world as an important factor on the road to reducing international tension.

However, this agreement and the beginning of the negotiations alone does not mean that problems have already been resolved. Romania, as well as other countries, are waiting for the sides to proceed from statements to real and sincere negotiations characterized by a great sense of responsibility in order to achieve appropriate agreements that will meet the expectations of peoples, will lead to halting the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, will determine a cutback in nuclear weapons and their final elimination, and will lead to halting the militarization of outer space.

Taking account of the particularly serious situation that has been created, Romania is for halting or immediately freezing nuclear weapons and for halting the deployment of the U.S. missiles in Europe and the nuclear countermeasures by the USSR. Such measures would demonstrate from very beginning of the negotiations the real desire of the two countries to reach an agreement and would, from the beginning, create an atmosphere of trust, a fact that would favor the successful progress of the negotiations. Continuing the deployment of nuclear missiles and of other weapons in Europe and the production of new nuclear weapons would, in fact, mean using the negotiations as a screen to appease the public in order to continue the arms race.

Taking account of the fact that the problem of nuclear weapons and of militarizing outer space equally concerns all states, it is necessary for all peoples to act and participate more actively to achieve agreements that will eliminate the nuclear danger on earth and in outer space. We especially believe that the European countries on the territories of which intermediate-range missiles are being deployed and where the majority of nuclear weapons are concentrated must act with great determination and participate in one form or another in the progress of the negotiations.

Within this framework, the Warsaw Pact member-states and the NATO countries should meet and discuss the achievement of appropriate agreements that will bring about the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and the other nuclear weapons in Europe, and the success of the negotiations between the two great powers. One can say that this is a decisive point in order to bring about a change in the trend of events in Europe and in the world.

Proceeding from the responsibility we have toward our peoples, toward peace, and the existence of life on our planet, we must do all we can to halt the arms race in 1985 and to proceed to cutting back on nuclear weapons in Europe and in the world.

At the same time, it is also necessary to intensify the activity in international bodies and conferences devoted to general disarmament and strengthening of sovereignty and cooperation in Europe. Each state has to act with great responsibility and in a constructive spirit so that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures,

Security, and Disarmament in Europe will be concluded successfully. It is also necessary to do everything to ensure that the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of arms and troops in Central Europe will progress with positive results, negotiations at which both sides have made proposals that can contribute to an acceptable agreement. It is also necessary for us to intensify our activity within the Geneva disarmament conference. The achievement of appropriate agreements at those conferences and international bodies would be of great importance for increasing trust and developing cooperation and would give new impetus to the overall activity of reducing international tension and disarmament, and a strong impetus to the successful progress of the negotiations between the USSR and the United States.

We must tell the truth to the peoples; we must do all we can to save the world from a nuclear catastrophe. Let us act with great responsibility to halt any actions aimed at militarizing outer space that would raise the arms race to an even higher level, would considerably increase the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and would destroy our civilization and the very life on our planet. Romania firmly advocates freezing military expenditures to the 1985 level and proceeding to a gradual cutback, beginning with 10 percent, of these tremendous expenditures that are in excess of $800 billion.

From the high rostrum of the big mass rally held in Socialist Romania's capital, I would like to once again appeal to all chiefs of states and governments and to all politicians, democratic parties, and organizations everywhere, and to all peoples and nations in Europe and other continents to do all they can -- irrespective of social system or philosophic conviction -- to bar the road to a nuclear precipice and abyss and to save mankind and defend the peoples' supreme right to existence, to free and independent development, and to peace.

Before it is too late, we must act with the greatest responsibility to ensure for our people and all the people throughout the world peace, freedom, and the supreme right to existence and life!

As far as Romania is concerned, our country is determined to intensify its efforts and to do everything possible with the conviction that this is in keeping with the interests of the Romanian people and of socioeconomic development, as well as with the interests of all peoples, since this is the only policy that is the answer to people's expectations. Likewise, our country is acting with great determination to develop multifaceted cooperation in the Balkans and to turn this region into a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. In this respect, we call for a summit meeting of the heads of states and governments of the Balkan countries. At the same time, we support the establishment of nuclear-free zones in north and central Europe, as well as in other parts of the world.

Under current international circumstances, the increasingly closer interdependence that characterizes the whole evolution of international events, it is necessary to renounce completely the use or threat of force in solving international problems and to act with full responsibility to halt all the existing conflict in various parts of the world and to begin solving interstate disputes solely through political means, through negotiations. The conflicts and the so-called local wars cause great human and material losses daily. Thousands and thousands of women and children are victims of them. It is high time to understand that all these conflicts and wars, smaller or greater, so-called local wars, do nothing but weaken the respective countries and, as a matter of fact, they only serve the imperialist policy of domination and oppression.

In order to achieve a real policy of detente, it is necessary to renounce completely force and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and it is also necessary to steadfastly respect the right of each nation to develop freely according to its own wishes. Romania, as it has done so far, firmly speaks out for political

and diplomatic solutions to the Middle East conflicts, for the Israeli troops' withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war, for solving the Palestinian people's problem on the basis of the right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent state, and for insuring the independence and sovereignty of all peoples in this region. In this respect, we believe that it is necessary to begin organizing an international conference within the United Nations, with the participations of all interested countries, including the PLO. We speak out for a most urgent halt of the Iran-Iraq war and a start to finding a political solution through negotiations to the problems existing between the two countries.

The international economic situation continues to be extremely serious; in particular, the gaps between rich and poor countries are expanding. Real negotiations within the United Nations, between the developing and developed countries, are required. An overall solution to the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt is also required -- these debts exceed the huge sum of $800 billion. Romania has presented a number of proposals in this connection, and it considers that it is necessary to organize in the shortest time possible an international conference within the United Nations to find overall solutions to the problem of foreign debt and underdevelopment, and to establish a new international economic system. At the same time, we consider that the developing countries must strengthen even more their solidarity and cooperation, and must act more unitedly in order to establish a common strategy in their negotiations with developed countries with a view to solving the complex economic problems of the new international economic system. It is in keeping with the interest of all countries, including developed countries, to reach overall solutions -- in the shortest time possible -- to all these problems that determine the overcoming of the international economic crisis, renewing the economies, and developing harmoniously all the countries of the world. This also constitutes an important factor of the policy of peace and international cooperation. Resolving the complex problems of our times requires the active and fully equal participation in international events of all countries, regardless of their social system, particularly of small- and medium-sized countries, of developing countries, and nonaligned countries, directly interested in a democratic policy of cooperation, independence, and peace.

Particular importance is attached to increasing the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in solving all problems that determine ensuring peace and socio-economic progress for all nations of the world.

Although the international situation is extremely serious, we firmly believe that all peoples, the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist, and realist forces everywhere, can halt the dangerous course of events toward war and nuclear catastrophe, and by acting in unity, can ensure the assertion of the policy of detente and disarmament primarily nuclear disarmament, independence, security, freedom, and peace throughout the world.

The RCP and the SR of Romania are firmly determined to broadly develop relations with all the countries and forces that desire peace and to strengthen cooperation with communist and workers parties, with socialist, social democratic, and other parties and democratic organizations, and with all the political organizations and forces that speak out for a policy of free and independent development of all peoples and for peace. We want to assure our foreign friends and all the people of the world that they will always have in Romania and in the Romanian people a trustworthy ally, that we are active in our struggle for ensuring the free development of each nation, for a better and more just world, and for complete equality, cooperation, and peace, and for a world free from weapons and free from wars.

Dear comrades and friends, citizens of Socialist Romania, the RCP and the SDUF have presented before the people a wonderful program of our fatherland's socioeconomic development in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and until the year 2000, which ensures Romania's elevation to new heights of progress and civilization, the achievement of the strategic objective of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and Romania's progress toward communism. The program presented for the 17 March elections is a call to work and struggle. We start off on a road requiring effort from our whole nation. We must continue to travel roads traveled by one before. We must firmly advance toward the high peaks of communist civilization. It is not an easy road, but we have already traveled a long road; we have overcome many difficulties, and we have demonstrated that our party, uniting all our people, and our people under the party's leadership can overcome any difficulties and can fulfill the golden dreams our forefathers only dreamed of, but which we are called upon to fulfill and to do everything to answer our historic mission and fulfill the duty we have toward our people and their free and bright future.

Through the 17 March vote you will demonstrate your high political maturity, revolutionary spirit, and the firm decision to unflinchingly follow the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our Communist Party, the leading political force of our whole nation, a policy fully in keeping with our people's vital interests in well-being, happiness, freedom, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

By voting for the SDUF candidates, we must solemnly pledge to act unflichingly to fulfill the plan for this year and to create the necessary conditions for proceeding to implement the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress. From the high rostrum of this great mass rally, I call upon all working people, regardless of their nationality, and all our people to vote most confidently for the program presented by RCP and by the SDUF! Vote most confidently for the SDUF candidates for the GNA and for the people's councils!

I call upon our heroic workers class, by the vote you cast for SDUF, to demonstrate the determination of the workers class to honorably fulfill the high revolutionary and historic mission as the leading class of our whole society!

I call upon our cooperativist peasantry and our whole peasantry, by voting for SDUF candidates, to vote for the implementation of the new agrarian revolution, for a modern and advanced agriculture that ensures the peasants' well-being and fully ensures the people's optimal supply, for increasing the role of the peasantry in alliance with the workers class in leading our whole society!

I call upon our intelligentsia, in the fields of science, education, culture, and technology to vote for SDUF, thereby voting for developing science, education, culture, and the progress and elevation of our fatherland to new heights of progress and civilization, for an advanced science and culture based on the dialectical materialist and historic concept, and for a revolutionary humanist character of our society, in which man is everything. Through the vote you cast, you demonstrate that the intelligentsia is determined, along with the workers and peasants, to fulfill its historic role in our society!

I call upon the women of our fatherland, by voting for the SDUF, to vote for an increased assertion of the full equality of rights between men and women and among all the citizens of our fatherland without any differentiation, for the assertion and further increasing role of women in the whole political and social life of our country!

I call upon the young people of our fatherland, by voting for the SDUF, to vote for the brilliant future of our fatherland, for the future generations, for young people's assertion in all fields as a strong creative force, for the right to work and study, for your right to learn the latest discoveries in all fields, and to serve devotedly and honorably our people, our fatherland, and communism!

Men and women, old and young, citizens of Socialist Romania, by acting in full unity and voting for the SDUF candidates, you are voting for Romania's greatness, for strengthening its independence and sovereignty, for elevating our fatherland to the high peaks of well-being and happiness of the classless society, the communist society!

By voting for the SDUF you vote for developing international relations with socialist countries and with all countries of the world, regardless of their social system, for a policy of peace and cooperation; you vote so that Romania and the Romanian people may live in peace, freedom, and dignity!

I firmly believe that all the citizens of our fatherland will enthusiastically and in full unity cast their vote for the SDUF, thereby voting for the happiness and well-being of our whole nation!

The 17 March vote will constitute a strong assertion of the complete unity of our whole nation within the SDUF under the leadership of the RCP, the leading political force of our whole nation!

This vote will constitute the assertion of all our people's unbending will and determination to unflinchingly implement the party policy and the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, thus ensuring Romania's continuous and everlasting progress, well-being, and flourishing!

Convinced by all these things, I wish all of you who are present at this great mass rally, all working people of Bucharest and throughout the country, and all our people, increasingly greater successes in all fields of activity, much health and happiness!

Officials Present

AU181432 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 16 March, carries on page 4 a 900-word report on the proceedings of the big civic rally at the Palace of the Republic occasioned by the 17 March elections. The SCINTEIA report carries the names of officials who arrived at the Palace of the Republic accompanying Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, stating: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu took their seats in the presidium of the meeting together with Comrades Constantin Dascalescu, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Alexandrina Gainuse, Manea Manescu, Paul Niculescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Ilie Verdet, Stefan Andrei, Stefan Birlea, Gheorghe David, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Susana Gadea, Ana Muresan, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Radu, Ion Stoian, Ioan Totu, Ion Ursu, Richard Winter, Silviu Curticeanu, Constantin Radu, members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] National Council Executive Bureau, and members of the SDUF organizations, representatives of working people from major Bucharest enterprises and institutions, and representatives of various mass and civic organizations."

Ceausescu Elected

AU181901 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/3/1985 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu was elected deputy to the Grand National Assembly by unanimous vote.

The Central Electoral Commission informs that in the "23 August" No 1 constituency of Bucharest where President Nicolae Ceausescu candidated for the March 1 elections to the parliament he gathered the electors' unanimous votes. Likewise, all the citizens of Romania who are on mission abroad cast their votes for the Romanian head of state. All the 73,027 electors gave their vote to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Other Election Results

AU181919 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/3/1985 -- In connection with the results of the March 17 elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly, the Central Electoral Commission informs:

Of the 15,733,060 citizens on the electoral lists, as many as 15,732,095 cast their votes, that is 99.99 per cent.

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front candidates were voted by 15,375,522 electors, (97.73 per cent of the total number of those who exercised their right to vote), with 356,573 votes against, makeup a share of 2.27 per cent of the total number of voters.

As many as 594 candidatures were presented for the 369 constituencies, with 145 constituencies choosing one out of two candidates, and 40 constituencies choosing one out of three candidates.

According to the provisions of the electroral law, electoral commissions proclaimed the election of 369 deputies to the Grand National Assembly.

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT BUCHAREST AWARD CEREMONY

AU181545 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Mar 85 p 1

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 14 March Bucharest ceremony at which a foreign students' delegation awarded him with the 17 November gold medal]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed comrade members of the International Students Union [ISU], esteemed comrades: I would like to express thanks to you and to the leadership of the ISU for awarding me the 17 November gold medal. I view this not only as an appreciation of my activity, but primarily as an appreciation of the activity carried out by the RCP, the Union of Communist Youth [UCY], the Romanian students movement, and the Romanian people in the struggle against fascism, for socialist development, and particularly in the struggle for broad cooperation among all peoples, for peace, and international cooperation.

In accepting this medal I recall, as I look on events in retrospect -- the struggle waged by Romanian youth, including the students, the Romanian people, and youth and students throughout the world against fascism and during World War II -- the important contribution made by youth, within the framework of the general struggle waged by the peoples, to the victory over fascism.

Indeed, this year in May the peoples will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory in World War II. There are many past recollections, but I believe that this anniversary must be an opportunity to intensify the struggle waged by all peoples and, within this framework, by youth and students everywhere so that no third world war will break out that, inevitably, would turn into a nuclear war that could lead to the destruction of life itself on our planet.

In these 40 years Romania has registered noteworthy achievements on the road to socialism and of building a new and free life for all people, a life in which youth fully enjoys these great achievements -- work conditions, education, and a standard of living as they have never known in the past.

Many peoples have registered important achievements on the road of socialist or democratic development, of winning independence, and on the road of socioeconomic development in general. For this very reason, the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism should contribute -- now that the international situation has worsened as never before -- to the intensification of the struggle by peoples, youth, and students, and to strengthening unity and cooperation in halting the arms race and the advance toward a precipice and war, and in promoting a policy of peace and international cooperation.

Certain rays of hope have emerged now regarding a change in the dangerous trend of international events. Two days ago negotiations began in Geneva between the Soviet and American delegations on nuclear and space weapons. This is certainly an important stage in the international situation. However, the beginning of negotiations alone will not resolve the very serious problems that have emerged. The Romanian people, as in fact all peoples, Romanian youth, and certainly youth everywhere want these negotiations to conclude with positive results. We are for the elimination of nuclear weapons from earth and space. We believe that particularly now it is necessary to intensify the struggle waged by peoples -- among the ranks of which youth holds an important place -- to halt the arms race.

We attach great importance to the role played by youth in our homeland's socioeconomic development. We greatly appreciate the contribution youth has made and continues to make, together with all our people, to the great achievements we have registered on the road to socialism.

We also appreciate the role played by young people everywhere both in socioeconomic development and in the struggle for independence and peace. Within this framework, we particularly value the role of the ISU in organizing and uniting students everywhere in the struggle for resolving the problems concerning living conditions, education, and work conditions for young people who are students and for youth in general.

It is well known that because of the world economic crisis, the increased unemployment, and the worsening of the economic situation of the developing countries, young people suffer most. It is also very well known that numerous young intellectuals with university studies increase the ranks of unemployed people. In fulfilling its important role, it is therefore necessary for the ISU to unite the efforts of university students and of young intellectuals everywhere to contribute to changing this situation that seriously affects the life of young people who study and of youth in general.

Once again I want to stress that we must pay great attention to the struggle against the danger of war and for peace. At the same time, however, we must do all we can to resolve economic problems, the problem of underdevelopment, and of establishing a new international economic order.

This year when we will celebrate many important events the International Youth Year [IYY] will also take plac. I believe that it is particularly important that the United Nations itself has proclaimed this year as the IYY. We must turn this into an excellent opportunity to intensify the struggle waged by young people and to intensify their unity in order to contribute to resolving the serious problems of the world situation and to building a better and more just world.

We believe that young people, youth organizations, and thus the ISU as well, must play a more active role in the struggle waged by all peoples for changing the trend of events toward a new policy of cooperation and peace that will guarantee each nation and people equal opportunities for socioeconomic development as they desire and without any outside interference.

Our party and I myself believe that youth represents a powerful social force that has done a great deal, but that can -- and must -- do more for peace and international cooperation.

I wish the ISU and you ever greater successes in your overall activity of uniting students and strengthening the unity of all youth and of peoples everywhere.

The situation is serious; however, we are convinced that through united actions, the peoples and the progressive forces everywhere and -- once again I want to stress -- youth are able to change this situation through their struggle and to ensure a future of peace, a bright future for all peoples.

You can rest assured that Romanian young people, Romanian students, and their revolutionary organizations will do all they can to cooperate closely with the ISU and with youth organizations everywhere and that by implementing the general policy of all our people they will contribute actively to the triumph of reason, of peace and cooperation, and to the cause of socioeconomic progress.

Once again I want to express thanks for this medal bestowed on me and from the bottom of my heart to wish the ISU success in its activity and success to the overall activity carried out by you. (lively applause)

ENACHE HOLDS TALKS WITH BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS

AU181917 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Brasilia, AGERPRES 18/3/1985 -- Petru Enache, vice-president of the State Council, who attended the Brazilian president's inauguration ceremony as President Nicolae Ceausescu's personal representative, had interviews in Brasilia with Jose Fragelli, president of the Senate and the National Congress, Ulysses Silveira Guimaraes, president of the Chamber of Deputies, leader of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, with Foreign Minister Olova Setubal, with Aureliano Chaves, minister of mines and energy, and with representatives of economic circles.

During the talks aspects were approached of the relations between Romania and Brazil, and mutual willingness was expressed to intensify bilateral ties on all planes.

Stress was laid on the contribution the two countries' parliaments and parliamentarians can make to expanding the relations between Romania and Brazil.

PLANINC, INDIAN PRIME MINISTER HOLD TALKS

LD181519 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0752 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Mar (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav-Indian relations and the Nonaligned Movement will be in the focus of the Yugoslav-Indian talks which started in Delhi today. Milka Planinc, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, and Rajiv Gandhi, Indian prime minister, are exchanging views on some issues of common interest and on measures to expand Yugoslav-Indian cooperation.

On the Indian side the talks are being attended by Parthasarathy, chairman of Policy Planning Committee of External Affairs, Khurshid Alam Khan, minister of state for external affairs, and other Indian officials. Budimir Loncar, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Danilo Bilanovic, SFRY ambassador in India, are taking part in the talks on the Yugoslav side.

After the talks the Indian prime minister will give a lunch in honor of Milka Planinc, FEC president.

Milka Planinc, FEC president, arrived in Delhi today at the end of her visit of several days to the countries in Southeast Asia. She is paying a working and friendly visit to India at the invitation of the Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian prime minister.

The FEC president will leave Delhi for Yugoslavia by plane tomorrow morning.

Meet at Luncheon

LD181832 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Mar (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, FEC president, and Rajiv Gandhi, Indian prime minister, held talks on bilateral cooperation and international issues in the Presidential Palace in Delhi today. The exchange of views was conducted in a very friendly and open atmosphere, which also characterizes relations between the two nonaligned countries.

The talks, which continued during the luncheon the Indian prime minister gave for the FEC president, focused on the activity of the nonaligned countries prior to the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau to be held in Delhi in mid-April and the ministerial conference in Luanda in September. Further details of India's and Yugoslavia's activity in this regard will be discussed by the officials of the two countries' foreign ministries.

The need to develop the nonaligned countries' activity toward easing the tension in the world was also stressed. It has been learned that the two sides also agree that the developing problems and the elimination of unequal economic relations in the world are the two areas in which the nonaligned countries and all developing countries can make significant contributions. In this context, reference was also made to protectionism in international economic relations, developing countries' foreign debts, and other issues burdening international economic relations. Both sides agreed that because of the considerable economic interdependence in the world today, the developed countries could not solve their own economic problems.

Milka Planinc and Rajiv Gandhi noted that the aim of the forthcoming celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations should be to gather at the UN headquarters as many heads of states and governments as possible, particularly those of nonaligned countries, in order to reaffirm the principles and Charter of this world organization.

The celebration of the UN anniversary should be used as a stimulus for fresh efforts to resolve all the controversial issues in the world.

During discussion about the major hotbeds of crises in the world, particular attention was devoted to the Iran-Iraq war. The two prime ministers said that nonaligned countries should repeat their attempts to halt the escalation of this armed conflict and should search for new possibilities for ending the conflict between the two countries in a peaceful way.

The FEC president briefed her hosts about her meetings with the leaders of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand, with whom she had talks during her several-day visit to these countries. There were also talks about the situation in Cambodia. The two prime ministers underlined that this problem should be resolved in a peaceful way, by political means.

The FEC president and the Indian prime minister noted that Indian-Yugoslav relations continue to develop very favorably, but a sudden fall in economic coooperation and trade causes concern on both sides. The Indian and Yugoslav Governments will continue to encourage the strengthening of mutual economic cooperation. The first such step will be the forthcoming session of a mixed committee that should analyze the causes of the fall in economic cooperation. Rajiv Gandhi and Milka Planinc agreed that there are economic fields in which India and the SFRY could cooperate successfully and these possibilities should be exploited.

Milka Planinc, FEC president, has invited Rajiv Gandhi, Indian prime minister, to visit Yugoslavia.

The FEC president will leave for Yugoslavia tomorrow.

Visit To India Unplanned

LD182215 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Mar (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, FEC president, assessed highly today's Indian-Yugoslav talks and her meeting with Rajiv Gandhi, Indian prime minister. In her statement for TANJUG, Milka Planinc, FEC president, said that her visit to New Delhi had been unofficial and very short and that it had been her first opportunity to exchange with Rajiv Gandhi views on key topics in bilateral relations, particularly those dealing with continued economic cooperation that should be further developed and promoted. Milka Planinc pointed out the great similarity of political assessment, especially the one related to mobilizing the Nonaligned Movement in crucial world issues.

"We managed to do what we wanted to. At this meeting we managed to establish a direct contact and will, in view of our common interests and wishes, elaborate and try to concretize the topics raised," Milka Planinc, FEC president said in conclusion.

Milka Planinc arrived on a 1-day visit to New Delhi today, at the end of her visit to Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand. The visit to India had not been planned, but Rajiv Gandhi, Indian prime minister, invited Milka Planinc, FEC president, to visit New Delhi. The FEC president will continue her journey to Yugoslavia tomorrow.

Talks 'Meaningful'

LD190957 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0733 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, 19 Mar (TANJUG) -- "We do not require extensive introductions or polite small talks, so meaningful talks started from the very minute I met Prime Minister Gandhi." Indian journalists were told this today by Milka Planinc, FEC president, as she was leaving India after the 1-day stopover in New Delhi.

Having stressed that India and Yugoslavia have been cooperating for a long time as founders of the Nonaligned Movement, Milka Planinc stressed: "I conveyed my impressions from my Southeast Asia tour to your prime minister. Other topics of conversation were bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and India, especially promotion of economic relations. We also discussed the economic crisis in the world and how to involve the Nonaligned Movement more. Because of the shortage of time, everything was discussed only in general terms, but we shall find the ways and means to continue the talks, translating them into initiatives that, we hope, will be useful."

Visit Concludes

LD190746 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0633 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, Mar 19 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc left India for Yugoslavia today after a days visit to New Delhi at the invitation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Prime Ministers Gandhi and Planinc yesterday conferred on bilateral cooperation, the Movement of Nonalignment and other questions of interest for the two countries. They met once again this morning, prior to Yugoslav premiers departure for Yugoslavia.

'POOL' NEWS AGENCIES' AGREEMENTS REVIEWED

AU161610 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 10 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG) -- During the 10th session of the Coordinating Committee of the Pool of Nonaligned Countries' News Agencies held in Belgrade from March 4 through 6, the directors-general of many news agencies showed their great interest in widening and deepening bilateral cooperation with the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG. Indicative of this are another eight contracts for cooperation and information exchange TANJUG concluded with other news agencies and scores of talks with the delegations of agencies during the session.

New contracts for cooperation and information exchange between TANJUG and the news agencies of Indonesia, Syria, Iran, Qatar, Angola, Madagascar, the Philippines, and Algeria provide for fuller exchange of news and information services, news photographs, economic information, press articles, radio and TV information as well as establishing direct teletypewriter ties for (?securing) a 24-hour throughput of information both ways.

The establishing of direct telecommunications ties among the news agencies which redistribute news from Mexico, via Tunisia and Belgrade to Indonesia and the Philippines is the most important undertaking in securing an equal and quick throughput of information within the Pool of the Nonaligned Countries' News Agencies and wider since many news agencies in the nonaligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will get connected and, in doing so, enrich the Pool news services transmitted through their redistribution centres: news agencies of India, Indonesia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Cuba, Mexico and others.

The deepening of bilateral cooperation between TANJUG and a large number of news agencies with which talks were conducted here (and new contracts concluded with eight of them) also covers exchange of professional experiences in the field of journalism, training journalists and technicians, innovations in technology, etc.

Many Pool news agencies requested TANJUG to provide training of some length at its seat for their young journalists and technicians or else to send to their seats its experienced journalists who would transfer the Yugoslav news agency's experiences on the spot.

Through the said bilateral meetings, confirmed was their determination to strengthen their mutual cooperation and, thus, make their Pool stronger as a collective system for information exchange among the nonaligned countries' news agencies.

It should be added that TANJUG initiated a wider recommendation for the Pool's more developed agencies to aid the Nonaligned Countries' underdeveloped news agencies as well as for actions in order to found news agencies in those nonaligned countries which have not yet founded them.

A document to this effect was unanimously accepted at the 10th session of the Pool Coordinating Committee in Belgrade a few days ago.

VOJVODINA PROVINCIAL LC COMMITTEE MEETS

LD160240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 15 Mar,(TANJUG) -- Following the 12th LCY Congress, multinational Vojvodina has made further progress in consolidating brotherhood and unity and the equality and togetherness of its nations and nationalities despite the difficult economic situation and complex political-social conditions.

This assessment of the development of intranational relations, put forward by Stipan Kopilovic, Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee Presidium member, in his introductory report at today's Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee session, has been borne out in the economy, culture, education, information media, and creative work.

It can be said, Kopilovic stressed, that in all of the environments in the Vojvodina Socialist Autonomous Province relations and awareness of national equality, brotherhood, and unity are prevalent. They manifest themselves in direct contacts between people and in the notion of Yugoslav unity, socialist patriotism, and togetherness in Vojvodina. This is why relations of togetherness in Vojvodina, as an expression of national identity and opposition to any type of national insularity, counting of heads, and so-called vertical rallying, prevail in both theory and in practice.

Kopilovic added that we must be more consistent, defined, and determined in the future in implementing the principle of plebescite that implies that all nations and nationalities must be equally represented in public and political organs and bodies.

Having stressed that the principle of the [words indistinct] in cadre policy, which allegedly hinders capable and professional people from being elected to relevant posts, has recently encountered much criticism. Kopilovic said that this thesis has been launched by nationalists, liberals, dogmatists, and technocrats who in this way question the criteria of ideopolitical orientation, moral values, work results, and equal representation.

Our sheer formalization of cadre policy and schematic description of candidates' profiles, who are sometimes difficult to find in the enrivonments from which they are to be nominated, are grist for the mill of these interpretations and help their publicity. Therefore, according to Kopilovic, it is desirable if, after this session, all basic and municipal organizations adopt a critical and fresh approach to and implement the idea and the aim of our basic course in cadre policy contained in the unity of the class and the nation. This means that more workers should be represented in all organs and bodies. This must be done because good class composition has always ensured equal national representation.

Continuing his report, Kopilovic stressed that the public information media have a particular role and task in the functioning and development of the province's political system. Vojvodina press, printed in five languages, and radio and television represent our significant achievements and are an active force in our attempts to consolidate brotherhood and unity, to bring nations and nationalities and their culture closer together in addition to overcoming various prejudices, national-romantic illusions, and other manifestations that contain seeds of nationalism.

However, intranational relations are very often covered in a rather formal and superficial way, without a more profound, comprehensive, and analytical analysis of the way in which the equality of nations and nationalities is implemented and developed. Neither can be be satisfied with the public information media's activity in intensifying the ideological struggle against nationalism. We fight nationalism only when excesses occur, and we know that excesses tend to be reported in a sensationalist way despite journalists and editors' desire to accomplish their tasks properly. For example, what happens when some individuals publicly attack the Constitution, the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, and the foundations of our country, and describe nationalities as minorities, and so on? We often merely state that such excesses sow confusion among people. It seems that the public information media itself is thrown into confusion. Only a modest number of journalists and other public personalities respond to these manifestations in a timely and exemplary way.

Proceeding from its tasks in the struggle for the equality, brotherhood, and unity of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia and Vojvodina, the Vojvodina LC as part of the united LCY, must assess its contribution to this constantly concrete struggle in a critical and self-critical way. The rise of nationalism, and particularly the counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo, have encouraged and fomented Serbian, Croatian, and Hungarian nationalism in Vojvodina, Kopilovic warned.

There is no doubt whatsoever that nationalism has launched a broad-based offensive, is attacking the unity and integrity of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, the LC itself, the achievements of our revolution, and the name and work of Comrade Tito, Kopilovic stated.

What causes increasing concern among our working people and citizens and the working class of Yugoslavia is the discrepancy in the attitudes of LC organizations, members, and even organs towards the manifestations of nationalism. In connection with these manifestations, opportunism has begun to spread within the LC itself, to erode it, and find support among its ranks. Different theses put forward by individual Communists regarding the threats looming over their nations, attempts to reduce nationalities to the level of minorities, questioning the constitutional and federal system, and the quality of the republics and provinces in Socialist Yugoslavia, have the same effect -- they foment nationalism.

Kopilovic also remarked that in the struggle against nationalist excesses in Vojvodina, particular attention must be paid to the manifestations of clericonationalism. Under the guise of religious conscience, tradition, and incorrectly understood continuity of national life, clericonationalists are attempting to incorporate the nationalist factor in social trends and ideological turmoils. We are duty-bound to stress that not all the clergy in Vojvodina are involved in this type of activity; however, the manifestations of individuals and groups from a nationalist position, unfortunately are not opposed by the church hierarchy and therefore, are likely to be thought the official attitude and policy of the given church organization. As practice has shown, one nationalist excess in any of the religious structures is followed by the same or even more excessive behavior in another. In this way their nationalist behavior becomes intertwined and mutually stimulated which, objectively speaking, creates problems in intranational relations.

"An exceptionally intolerant attitude towards socialist self-managing Yugoslavia has become noticeable in a section of the teaching at the Sremski Karlovci Seminary where the ideologues and leaders of the Ravana Gora Chetnik movements are being extolled. This inevitably affects the attitude and political behavior of the seminarists. It is not our desire to hold the Serbian Orthodox Church and all its clergy responsible for these and similar events in the above-mentioned institution, which can best be described as an abuse of this church institution," Kopilovic said.

The extent to which other religious communities are prepared to use the ominous reactionary ghosts as an educative example is indicated by the demands put forward by some representatives of the Catholic Church in Strem to hold the so-called "religious" rites of "Calvary" in Sremska Mitrovica despite the fact that the most dreadful crimes against the Serb nation and other nations and nationalities were committed there. This demand not only is an attack on Socialist Yugoslavia and its unity but is essentially an unscrupulous antihuman act, negation of those who perished, and an attempt by the church to justify the crimes committed by disguising them as traditional religious rites of conversion.

It is obvious, Kopilovic added, that these are attempts to sow divisions among our nations and nationalities. Are not these and similar attempts borne out by the latest examples of the way Catholic youth is being organized, the aim of which is to cause sharp divisions between the Hungarian and Croatian youth? They are not accidents. The tendency to assume so-called historical rights and political monopoly over one's own nation and to be an exclusive representative of its interests is quite obvious. It is illustrated by the conflict between the Hungarian and Croatian clergy within the Roman Catholic Church in Backa and Bsnat. Such a policy's negative effects upon the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationality has been noticed in practice and it is easy to foresee the dangers this practice poses for our community in the future. It must be stressed that none of the church hierarchies has proclaimed this policy as its principled stance; however, it must be noted that they cannot but bear responsibility for tolerating dangerous negative phenomena among their ranks.

We must also express our concern over the fact that the spirits of Chetniks, Ustashi, and other fascist elements are raising their ugly heads in the country even today and that demands are being put forward for so-called "forgiveness" and "national reconciliation," all of which is having a negative effect upon the atmosphere in Vojvodina. We are duty-bound to denounce publicly these negative phenomena and to appeal to all our citizens to be vigilant over any aspect of nationalist or even clericonationalist destruction of the brotherhood and unity, equality and togetherness of our nations and nationalities, Kopilovic stressed. He added that Yugoslavia's and Vojvodina's nations and nationalities need no privileged national representatives and self-proclaimed national patrons to safeguard, on their behalf, their national identity and national development.

It was not easy to achieve equality of our nations and nationalities, Rudolf Jontovic [Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee Presidium member] said. And we did not accomplish it in one fell swoop. The links between Vojvodina's nations and nationalities are numerous and when these links weaken, nationalists intensify their attempts to destroy our unity. Therefore it is very important to denounce even the most disguised forms of nationalist activity and to draw distinctions between the struggle for national rights and nationalistic excesses. Jontovic also said that some sections of the church have publicly enunciated the thesis that all ideologies are going through a crisis except the religious principles, which are everlasting. They thus equate the religious with the national.

Rudi Sova [LCY Statutory Commission member] said we are confronted with the rise of etatism and strong pressures to strengthen statehood. Regardless of the forms in which this is manifested, it is most often linked with attempts to reduce nationalities to the old, lower status. Sovereignty is often referred to as the issue of state and statehood and not as the issue concerning working people and their right to self-organizations. Therefore, it is good that such opinions are being publicly criticized.

Strategically speaking, Rudi Sova added, the struggle against nationalism must focus on its causes and the eradication of such phenomena. However, LC action must be directed against concrete nationalist excesses, since an ordinary oath may be understood as a call and a demand for supporting and justifying nationalistic excesses. The way in which people, particularly Communists, react to such phenomena is exceptionally important. The perpetrator must be confronted with counteraction and not with silence and hope that the security service will intervene. It is not enough to express shock over nationalist excesses; rather swift and resolute action is needed, since silence and a passive attitude encourage nationalists.

I view every single manifestation of clericalism as a signal that the LC and other sociopolitical factors have made a blunder that thus made these manifestations possible, Bosko Kovacevic, said, adding that any policy pursued by a minority inevitably creates scope for clericonationalist activity. The activity from a clerical position of not only the clergy but also some believers is equally unacceptable to us. They wrap themselves in the cloak of anticommunism, promote nationalist ideas, and appeal in their activity to certain atavistic forces. We have to act on two fronts: our everyday attitude toward such manifestations for which we, as a party, must find solutions, and, more resolute action against the causes behind the situation in which the religious sphere is interfering in society's political life.

BOGOEV, MARJANOVIC BLAMED FOR FOREIGN DEBT

AU152050 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 85 p 5

[Interview with Lojze Skok, Slovene delegate to the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, by Jasna Kesic; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Kesic] Who ran up such debts abroad, and why, so that we now have double trouble: foreign exchange repayment and dinar exchange loss coverage?

[Skok] It is known that the basic banks borrowed abroad for the requirements of the work organizations, up until the moment when foreign creditors withdrew their trust. This was at the beginning of the eighties.

Anyhow, every year tne Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted a projection of borrowing abroad at the same time it adopted the economic resolution. As if this foreign exchange were distributed as a free gift, the main battle in the assembly concerned who would get the bigger share. The delegates of every republic and province strove to demonstrate that more should be allocated to them. Even these borrowing quotas were almost regularly exceeded, and at the same time the agreed export quotas were not implemented, which led to a progressive increase in the debt.

Some 15 years ago, or more precisely in 1970-71, the SFRY was a net exporter of capital. This means we had more money abroad than we had borrowed.

The debt amounted to about $1.5 billion. Then, in merely 10 years, we borrowed almost $20 billion, not counting the foreign exchange holdings of citizens. With such an inflow of foreign exchange, exports really "were not necessary."

[Kesic] But tell us who is specifically responsible.

[Skok] The law nicely says that the SFRY National Bank is responsible for maintaining the foreign liquidity of the country. Therefore, I think that the leading people of that institution are most responsible. They are two doctors: Ksente Bogoev, governor at that time, and his deputy Ilija Marjanovic. All the time before 1980, when foreign creditors lost their confidence in our creditworthiness, they persistently defended, here in the assembly and in the presss the thesis that according to international criteria Yugoslavia had not borrowed too much and that it enjoyed the full trust of foreign creditors. It is also true that Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance at that time, said that we have borrowed too much and he warned that the country is facing financial collapse, but nobody believed him. Many peole have attacked him very rudely.

NIN REFERS TO REQUEST NOT TO PUBLISH CC POLEMICS

AU141951 [Editorial Report] Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1784 on 10 March on pages 9-11 carries a 4,000-word report by Stevan Niksic on the session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 5 and 6 March, which contains the following passage:

"Near the end of the first day of the debate, Milka Planinc took the floor saying that she feels that two systems -- self-management on one side and the delegate system on the other -- are autonomously active in Yuguslav society, and that the two are insufficiently linked because of the insufficient activity of the subjective factor. Wishing to illustrate her thesis, she used the examples of large systems such as railroads and postal services. Regarding the resolution of some of their specific problems, which consist of insufficient internal links, Milka Planinc said that it is necessary that 'we sit together with them to solve this.' In the second part of her speech (journalists were asked not to publicize this part), she spoke at length about the work of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], about problems in the realization of the stabilization program, and about relations with the IMF. According to her, the present FEC is unable to work in any way other than the present way, or to offer anything essentially different from what it has offered, and if a different policy is desired, another government should be chosen. After her speech, some members of the LCY Central Committee asked for the right to reply, obviously wanting to enter into polemics with some positions and assessments advocated by the FEC president. It was also obvious in the reaction in the lobbies that her speech caused different and even quite opposite impressions and comments.

"Milos Minic said further on in the discussion that he wished to polemize with some views of Milka Planinc, but that he unfortunately does not possess all the necessary information, announcing that he will certainly do so at the very next session of the Central Committee, which should discuss measures of current economic policy."

Niksic says that the session "was becoming more and more interesting" on the second day. "Ivo Perisin first explicitly, in a manner peculiar to himself, convincingly and temperamentally said that he cannot accept some of Milka Planinc's views. This was also stated later by some other speakers." "In his speech later on, France Popit particularly pointed out that he agreed with Milka Planinc. Polemizing very energetically and resolutely with those (he did not precisely name those with whom he was polemizing, and it remained uncertain whom he meant) 'who want to change the political system' and who, as he put it, are against the self-managing production social relations, Popit called on them to declare themselves publicly and to present their case at a Central Committee session. It was only on the basis of this statement that it became clear that he meant somebody sitting in the same hall," Niksic observes.

PUBLISHERS GIVEN IDEOPOLITICAL PENALTIES

AU141703 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 85 p 12

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb -- At their meeting yesterday the Communists of the work organization of Prosveta Publishing House approved by vote the ideopolitical measure of reprimand to Milisav Savic, chief and responsible editor of the publishing house, as the individual most responsible for initiating preparations for the publication of selected works of Slobodan Jovanovic, war criminal and former premier of the Yugoslav emigre government. The report by a special working group that has analyzed the entire situation connected with this will subsequently be given to the LC basic organization of Prosveta work community in which Mirko Miloradovic, director of the work organization, is a member, with the proposal that Miloradovic's responsibility should be examined in this connection.

Yesterday, the LC basic organization of the Knjizevne Novine news publishing work organization in Belgrade discussed the situation that developed following the sharp public criticism in Belgrade and in the SFRY as a whole because this publishing house, too, had included the publication of Slobodan Jovanovic's works in its publishing plan. In view of the fact that the publishing plan was approved in its time also by the LC basic organization, all members of the organization were formally criticized and the ideopolitical measure of reprimand was pronounced against Gradimir Stojakovic, director and Ljubivoje Rsumovic, chief and responsible editor, as the individuals most responsible in this connection.

DEFENSE MINISTER RETURNS FROM TALKS IN LIBYA

LD151520 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav defense secretary, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, today returned from an official visit to the Libyan Jamahiriyah and its armed forces. During the visit to Tripoli, Mamula conferred with member of the Libyan Revolutionary Council and commander-in-chief of the Libyan Armed Forces, Brig. Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, on the further development of cooperation between the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and the Libyan Jamahiriyah. The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Mamula, visited some units and toured some institutions of the Libyan Armed Forces. Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula was received by Libyan revolutionary leader Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

RIBICIC MEETS WITH FRG PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS

LD160022 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Text] Bonn, March 15 (TANJUG) -- Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Mitja Ribicic met here with top representatives of political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany. Following yesterday evening's promotion of the first book of works by President Tito, translated into German, Ribicic first had talks with Alfred Dregger, leader of the ruling Christian Democratic and Christian Social Union's parliamentary faction, followed by talks with president of the opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) Willy Brandt. During their meeting, Ribicic and Brandt reviewed the cooperation between the LCY and the SPD and expressed the mutual wish for the promotion of this cooperation. The two sides also expressed concern over the United States persistence on carrying the arms race over into space. Today, Ribicic had talks with leader of the Liberal Party's parliamentary faction Wolfgang Mischnick.

MOJSOV RETURNS FROM BRAZILIAN CELEBRATION

LD182335 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1941 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, returned this evening from Brazil, where he attended the celebration on the election of the new president of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

FEC VICE PRESIDENT CONCLUDES VISIT TO URUGUAY

AU180838 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] Montevideo -- Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], has left Montevideo where he headed the Yugoslav delegation to the inauguration of the new Uruguayan president, Julio Mario Sanguinetti. During his visit to Uruguay, Dr Sukovic was received by President Sanguinetti. He had several meetings, among which were meetings with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, Enrique Iglesias, minister of foreign affairs of Uruguay, and Wilson Ferreira, leader of the opposition National Party.

SLOVENE DELEGATION LEAVES FOR BELORUSSIA

LD172359 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 17 Mar 85

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Mar (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Slovene Executive Council today left for a visit to the Belorussian SR at the invitation of the Council of Ministers of that republic. During the talks attention will be devoted mainly to the expansion of cooperation in the economic sphere, and in particular long-term production cooperation. The delegation, led by Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Executive Council of Slovenia, will be in Belorussia Republic for 4 days. It will also visit Moscow.

DELEGATES VISIT NICARAGUA, SIGN AGREEMENT

For coverage of the visit to Nicaragua by a delegation headed by Mito Pejovski, Federal Executive Committee member, including the signing of a $10 million cooperation agreement, see the 12 March Latin American DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.